

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
HERCULEAN STRAITS,
NOW CALLED THE
STRAITS of GIBRALTAR:

INCLUDING
Those PORTS of SPAIN and BARBARY
THAT LIE CONTIGUOUS THERETO.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

Illustrated with several COPPER PLATES.

By Lieutenant Colonel THOMAS JAMES,
Of the ROYAL REGIMENT of ARTILLERY.

V O L. II.

L O N D O N:

Printed by Charles Rivington for the AUTHOR;
And sold by J. and F. RIVINGTON in St. Paul's Church-yard; T. CADELL
in the Strand; and J. DODSLEY in Pall-Mall.

MDCCCLXXI.

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MDCCLXXI.

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OF TETUAN IN BARBARY, &c.
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Septa from the Goths. It is reported that the Goths bestowed the
government of this town upon a woman with one eye, who
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the town Tetuan, which signifies in their language, an eye:
afterwards being often an eye, the inhabitants
looked it, and it remained ninety-five years desolate: which
HERCULEAN STRAITS.

BOOK II.

CHAP. VI.

OF TETUAN IN BARBARY; A PLAN OF CEUTA; ITS HISTORY,
AND SOME OTHER PARTICULARS.

THUS, having from the coasting pilot laid down instructions for the mariner to sail from the bay of Cales through the Straits of Gibraltar, till he lies along side the noble mole at Malaga, (which, with the cathedral of that ancient Phœnician city, and grand aqueduct, all begun about the reign of our queen Elizabeth of glorious memory, are lasting monuments of those who projected such magnificent, stupendous, and necessary fabricks) or anchors off the coast of Tetuan, where ships may safely ride, except in easterly winds: for whenever the wind chops about to that quarter, they must weigh and run for the bay of Gibraltar, &c. This town of Barbary was a very ancient city, and gave name to a large province, and is the seat of an alcaide, but was once of a basha, called by the Romans Tetuanum, then Tettequin, now Tetuan, and rebuilt by the Africans, eighteen miles from the Straits, to the eastward of Ceuta, and six miles and a half up the country from the Mediterranean sea:

it was taken from the Moors at the same time when they won Septa from the Goths. It is reported that the Goths bestowed the government of this town upon a woman with one eye, who weekly repairing thither to receive tribute, the inhabitants named the town Tettequin, which signifies in their language, an eye: afterwards being often attacked by the Portuguese, the inhabitants forsook it, and it remained ninety-five years desolate: which time being expired, it was re-edified and replanted with inhabitants, by a certain captain of Grenada, who, together with this king, being expelled thence by Ferdinand king of Castile, departed to Fez. This famous captain in the wars, and who shewed himself so valiant, was by the Portuguese called Almandali; who having obtained the government of this town, and license to repair it, environed the same with new walls, and built an impregnable castle, as it was then thought, and encompassed it with a deep ditch.

After this, he made continual war upon the Portuguese, and extremely molested and endangered their towns of Septa, Casar, and Tangier: for with three hundred valiant horsemen of Grenada, he made daily incursions and inroads upon the Christians, and those that he took, he put to continual labour and toil about the building his forts: upon a time when Leo himself travelled this way, he saw three thousand Christian captives, who being clad in coarse sackcloth, were constrained in the nights to lie fettered in deep dungeons: this captain was exceedingly liberal unto all African and Mahometan strangers that passed by: howbeit, concludes Leo Africanus, within these few years, one of his eyes being thrust out with a dagger, and the other waxing dim with age, he departed this life, leaving the town after his death to his nephew, who was a most valiant man (1).

Whilst I was in the garrison of Gibraltar, in one thousand seven hundred and fifty-four, I asked and obtained leave to visit

(1) John Leo, p. 180.

this

this town of Tetuan, with five more officers of that impregnable hill: we embarked on board a Swede, bound to that place, and were opposite the new mole, at five minutes past nine in the morning, and after crossing the five-fold current, steering for Ceuta point, the ship dropped anchor at three o'clock in the afternoon, in Tetuan road. Mules being ready, we mounted and rode to the town, where we were kindly received by Mr. Pettigrew, his Britannic majesty's consul.

Ceuta, no less considerable than Tangier for its advantageous situation at the entrance of the Mediterranean, than for the beauty of its public buildings, and the strength of its walls and bulwarks, by which, and a good garrison, it held out, not indeed a vigorous siege, as the Spaniards stile it, but an obstinate blockade, against an army of Moors, is situated on a rising ground, at the foot of the mountain of Apes, which juts out into the Straits, and makes the nearest point to the Spanish coasts. It is still very considerable, and a bishop's see, hath a good palace, and noble cathedral. Near it stands the celebrated mountain with seven summits, known to the Ancients by the name of Septempatres (2). The Moors laid siege to it in one thousand six hundred and ninety-seven, and have kept it blockaded up ever since, without intermission, though without any great likelihood of their ever mastering it.

The extreme indigence of the natives round about Ceuta makes them so surprisingly active, that they will go, as some report (3), from Tetuan to Mequinez, which is one hundred and fifty miles, for a ducat, without minding heat or rain, in less than twenty-four hours: a river in their way causes no delay, because they

(2) Mod. Univ. Hist. Vol. xviii. B. xviii. c. ii. p. 83. Braithwait's Revolution of Morocco. (3) Hist. of Morocco, anno 1750. Braithwait's Hist. Revol. Moroc. & al. sup. citat.

swim across it with the same expedition that they make on land; and their whole support is only some meal, a few figs or raisins, which they carry in their goat skins; and their richest liquor water, mixed with a little honey.

In nine hundred and sixty-one, Abd'alramân, the defender of the divine law, as he styled himself, built a fortress near Corduba, and made himself master of Septa, or Ceuta, in Africa; leaving there one of the grandees of his realm with the authority of an emîr.

Ceuta was taken from the Moors in one thousand four hundred and fifteen, in the reign of king John the first of Portugal; who being at peace with all Christian neighbours, made preparations for some great enterprize in foreign parts; for that end a fleet was fitted out, partly from Lisbon, and partly from Spain, England, and the Netherlands; the king's five sons undertaking the raising of the land forces. These preparations were managed with so much secrecy, that it created a jealousy as well in the minds of the Christian kings of Castile and Arragon, as in that of the Moorish king of Grenada, when all on a sudden, they landed on the Barbary shore, near to this town of Ceuta, which town, then in the hands of the Africans, they made themselves masters of in a few hours, to the amazement of all men: yet, of what substantial benefit Ceuta ever was to Portugal, or has since been to Spain, in whose hands it now is, is hard to tell; so far, however, may be said, that the ease with which this conquest was made, encouraged the court of Portugal to attempt more useful and profitable conquests soon after (4).

The famous duke de Ripperda went into Africa, after his banishment from Spain. The design of his going to Mequinez was to engage Muley Abdalla in the blocking up the two strong for-

(4) Anderson upon Commerce.

treffes of Ceuta and Mellita, in ruining of the Spanish coasts, and uniting in a league with the other piratical states of Barbary, to transport an army of Moors into Spain, sufficient to undertake the reconquering of that rich and fertile country. His proposal gained credit the more easily with that monarch, as admiral Perez, who in a late reign had been sent ambassador to the British court, and since then to the Hague, had given him and his court a high character of his abilities, and artfully insinuated into them the great apprehensions which the European powers were in, on account of his attachment to him: upon which it was unanimously agreed, that his scheme should be put in execution, and that the whole conduct and preparations for the war should be entirely left to his care (5).

Ripperda, now become a great favourite at court, and raised to the dignity of a basha, having informed himself the best way he could, by a faithful spy of his, named Martin, of the state of the Spanish garrisons and fortresses on the Barbary coasts, immediately proposed the opening of the trenches before Ceuta; which, when it came to be debated in council, the most experienced officers among the Moors strenuously opposed, on account of the many fruitless attempts that had been already made against that place, as well as the vast expence of blood and treasure which the bare blockade of it had cost their monarchs, who must by this time be sufficiently convinced that it was absolutely impregnable. Ripperda heard them all out with abundance of pleasure, because he well knew that they had not raised any objection which he could not remove, as they chiefly sprung from their ignorance of the European ways of carrying on such difficult sieges with success; but when he came to open to them those various and new invented methods of acting offensively and defensively, of which himself was a thorough master, he easily brought them all over

(5) Mod. Univ. Hist. Vol. xviii. B. xviii. c. i. p. 172.

to his opinion; and the siege of that place was unanimously agreed to and resolved on without any further delay.

That nothing might be wanting to the carrying on of the favourite project, Abdalla nominated that apostate duke to be commander in chief, and raised some other renegadoes to considerable commissions under him. He also assembled a choice body of infantry, consisting of about ten thousand men, at the head of whom Ripperda marched directly to Ceuta, where he directed every thing with such surprising judgment and unwearied industry, as failed not to inspire the rest of the troops with fresh vigour and courage, insomuch that they now no longer looked upon this blockade as an unsurmountable task, which could only end with their deaths, as their language formerly was, but looked upon the carrying of the place as a sure and easy one, under such an experienced commander, whom they looked upon as sent from heaven to free them from thralldom and misery, and to lead them to a plentiful harvest of laurels and wealth, especially as he took great care to shew himself at their head in every expedition.

As soon as he thought he had sufficiently inspired his troops, and given the engineers the best rules how to proceed in the siege, he returned to Mequinez, where he was received with the greatest marks of favour and esteem. His design was to solicit that court for a new supply of provisions, ammunition, and artillery. His motion was immediately seconded by admiral Perez, and agreed to by the council; and the arrival of that fresh convoy to the camp so conciliated the hearts and confidence of his Moorish troops to him, that they cried him up as their common father, and the ablest general of the age.

Ripperda was now at the summit of credit and happiness, if any share of the latter can fall to the lot of a renegado to his God and his country, when all was overcast again by the arrival of his faithful spy Martin, who brought him the unexpected news, that the Spaniards were preparing to transport an army into Africa to
retake]

retake the city of Auran, or Oran, if not to extend their conquests still farther. The declaration was dated June the sixth, one thousand seven hundred and thirty-two, and contained the reasons which had induced the Spanish monarch to this expedition; for which a sufficient number of ships, men, and arms, was dispatched at the same time; of all this, Martin gave a full account to the court of Mequinez.

Abdalla, though not a little surprised at the news, was yet glad that he had so able a general as Ripperda to oppose the famous marquis of Montemar, who commanded the Spanish forces; and as that place was then in the hands of the Algerines, his allies, he wholly committed the defence of it to him. However, he was obliged to yield to the superiour valour of the Spanish forces, through the baseness and cowardice of his own. This unavoidable disgrace, however, was so far from discouraging him from pursuing his old scheme, that the excessive heats of the country had scarcely obliged the Spaniards to quit the field, than he started a double project; the one for renewing the siege of Ceuta, and the other for the recovery of Auran; both which he represented to the king as practicable and easy, provided he could engage the free Moors; that is, the Algerines, Tunisiens, and Tripolitans, to join heartily and unanimously in it. He found little or no difficulty to engage them all in it; and, in a few days after, his couriers returned with the agreeable news, that they were all in full march to reach the army before Ceuta. Upon which, Ripperda immediately set out, and found them accordingly encamped about two leagues short of that place: but here he was likewise informed, that the garrison had received a considerable reinforcement, and was marched out to engage in open field. This last piece of news would certainly have given him the greatest pleasure, as it did a most wished-for opportunity of signalizing himself on so critical a juncture, had he not had too great a cause from their former behaviour to mistrust the firmness

of

of his Moorish troops, on which the whole success chiefly depended. To confirm them, therefore, the more in it, he made a long and most pathetic harangue, in which he displayed to them, with his usual rhetoric, the barbarity and tyranny of the Spaniards, all joining together to reduce them to the lowest and most miserable state of slavery, reminding them of what their noble ancestors had suffered from them, and what a deal of blood and treasure it had cost them to repel their ambition and cruelty, and how much now depended upon their valour and firmness at this juncture, desiring of them nothing more than that they would follow his example, who was now going to lead them against their and his own enemies. The Moors, who were no less charmed with his eloquence than inspired by his conduct, behaved on this occasion with unusual bravery and firmness; and though the engagement was long and obstinate, yet, contrary to their wonted custom, they fought boldly hand to hand, rallied several times, whilst their general was in some measure present in every post of danger, not only distributing his commands, but also fighting, charging, rallying, and exposing himself every moment to some fresh danger. At length, after a long and bloody action, the Spaniards were totally defeated, and forced to retire to Ceuta in great confusion, after a very great loss of their best forces and officers.

Flushed with this signal victory, the ambitious basha began to open the trenches in form before Ceuta; and at the same time sent a reinforcement of thirty thousand men, under the command of Hali, to assist in the forming the siege of Auran: but unfortunately for him, whilst his troops, elevated with this success, laid carelessly straggling along the trenches, and their advanced guard was at a good distance from the head quarters, the governor thought fit to fall upon them in the dead of night at the head of six thousand men, besides five hundred prisoners, and several officers of distinction. The design was so well conducted, that the Spaniards quickly drew the Moors out of their trenches, and filled

filled them up, nailed up their cannon, plundered their head quarters, and forced Ripperda to flee in his shirt to Tetuan, leaving the greatest part of his infantry to be cut in pieces by the enemy; and a much greater slaughter would have been made among them, had not the cavalry come timely to their rescue, and by charging the enemy with fresh vigour, given an opportunity to some corps of foot to form in the plain behind them, who having repulsed them, happily recovered their posts. However, the engagement lasted near seven hours before the Spaniards retired; so that the great number of the slain, the great booty they took, and the standards and trophies of honour they carried into the place, joined to the great disgrace of the Spanish basha, who had been first projector of that siege, wholly quashed that enterprize, and made the Moors glad to lay quiet awhile, without attempting any new one, till towards the latter end of the year, when, having increased their army to above fifty thousand men, they resolved upon resuming that of Auran, in which they proved more successful: but this is foreign to my plan. Ceuta remained in the possession of the Spaniards, but the Moors, though foiled, still blockaded the place.

The Moors, who had laid two years before Ceuta, with a numerous army, was, in one thousand six hundred and ninety-six, obliged to raise the siege, after having lost fifteen thousand men, and being in the field twenty-five months; when they first set down before it, Ceuta was defended by the marquis de Valparaíso, with invincible courage, and afterwards with indefatigable diligence by the marquis de Avallaneda, who was sent to relieve it (6).

Though Portugal in the memorable year one thousand six hundred and forty, so propitious to the commerce of England and other nations, on account of the great revolution in Portugal,

(6) Mod. Univ. Hist. Vol. xxi. B. xix. c. i. p. 472.

when John duke of Braganza found means to drive out the Spaniards, and to ascend the throne of Portugal, by the name of king John the fourth. Ceuta having a Spanish garrison, did not revolt to the duke of Braganza, as the rest of the Portugal territories had done; but remains to this very day in the possession of Spain. The Moors having kept Ceuta blocked up for many years; the marquis de Lede arrived in Spain with troops from Sicily and Sardinia; and was ordered to transport them into Africa, in order to relieve that place: he had the good fortune to obtain two victories over the Moors; but he was no sooner returned into Spain, than they set down again before Ceuta, and renewed the blockade of that place, and which, in fact, is continued to this day.

The infant don Henry, the youngest son of the above king, and master of the order of Christ, particularly signalized himself at the taking of Ceuta: he had been always much devoted to the study of the mathematics, but more particularly to cosmography, which induced him, while at Ceuta, to solicit the conversation of those Moors and Jews, who, by their travels, had acquired a knowledge of the remotest parts of the earth: from them he learned the situation of several places of consequence which he had never before heard of, and the information did not fail to inspire him with a most ardent inclination to discover and possess them; not so much to gratify his ambition, as to extend the knowledge of the true God.

With an immediate view to accomplish this great design, after the conquest of Ceuta, he retired to the Algarves, and on a convenient part of cape St. Vincent, erected a town to serve him as an arsenal for his shipping, which he named Terça Nabal: it was also called the town of the infant: here he made preparations for his future discoveries and conquests, and fitted out fleets for the Atlantic and Southern oceans, which were then deemed unnavigable, and, but for him, might have been so till now.

I must not omit, that in one thousand three hundred and ninety-nine, the Corsairs of Barbary being extremely troublesome, king Henry the third of Castile, ordered the fleet that had been prepared against Portugal to clear the seas of those robbers, which they did; and taking it to be a proper appendix to their commission, undertook to clear the land a little also; with this view they landed their forces, and attacked Tetuan, of which they quickly became masters, pillaged it, carried away all the inhabitants, and then burnt it to the ground (7).

Juan Gonfalso Zarco, a gentleman of the bedchamber to don Henry, was the person who principally assisted him in his discoveries, to which he applied the large revenues of the order of Christ: this gentleman was the first on whom the king conferred the honour of knighthood at the taking of Ceuta: he served the infant in all his African expeditions, with a success proportioned to his great abilities, and the constancy of his resolution; and it is said, that he first introduced the use of artillery in ships: he passed the Straits in the year one thousand four hundred and twenty, as he had in the year one thousand four hundred and eighteen, discovered the island of Puerto Santo, while he was prosecuting his search after cape Bajador.

Ceuta is maintained by a bull from Rome: there are four bulls granted by that see to Spain exclusively; the fourth of which is the bull of milk (8), which is an indulgence to eat flesh, butter, cheese, and eggs, in Lent.

Thus, says my author, you see the business, council, or general commission of crusade, is to distribute those bulls; to raise a revenue to the crown, under a pretence of levying a tax for crusading: its greatest object is the maintenance of Ceuta, which, if they could not effect, they would loose all pretensions to this

(7) Rod. Santii Hist. Hispan. part iv. letter iii. part ii. p. 45—46.

(8) Clarke's Spanish Nation,

tax, as it would then revert to the see of Rome. In this council all books of religion are examined; no breviary nor missal can be printed without its licence: it is the repository of stolen goods unowned: it was erected in the year one thousand five hundred and twenty-five. All the king's subjects are obliged to buy the indulgence belonging to the crusade, to enable them to go to confession, receive absolution, and to communicate; for if they bring not this bull, the priests will neither absolve, or give them the wafer: this very considerable part of the crown revenues was given in consequence of cardinal Ximenes's expedition into Africa: all the benefices in Spain are taxed for the crusade: Toledo alone pays fifty thousand ducats yearly (six thousand two hundred and fifty pounds sterling.) The contribution of the clergy is great, but of the laity still more. These four bulls are said to produce yearly, in Spain only, one million two hundred thousand ducats, (about fifty-seven thousand pounds sterling) and about double that sum in America: those who die without having bought them, die excommunicated.

I also find in the same author (9), that the salaries of the great officers in Spain, Ceuta, and the hospital, amount to fifteen thousand and ninety pounds seven shillings sterling. This town has been frequently attacked by the Moors, but to little purpose, and with considerable loss on their side: it is well fortified across the narrow isthmus, and well mounted with ordnance: they daily mounted in one thousand seven hundred and fifty-three, when general Crawford visited that garrison, five hundred men. The chief engineer of that fortress shewed the general a plan of Gibraltar, and all our public edifices; with his plan how he would have fortified that hill, and how he would have erected those fabrics.

I now present a plan of this peninsula, situated upon the coast of Barbary, north and south, opposite to Gibraltar, at about fif-



teen miles distant, belonging to his most catholic majesty, and besieged or invested by the Moors, since the year one thousand six hundred and ninety-three, with that of the suburbs adjoining, as far as Africa point.

REFERENCES TO THE PLAN OF CEUTA.

A the town of Ceuta.

B suburbs, where the inhabitants retired during the siege.

C part of the island full of high mountains, where they put their cattle.

D the attacks by the Moors, with their intrenchment and batteries.

1. the red redoubt, so called, because the works are done in masonry, erected for battering the place.

2. the enemy's camp, where they have different batteries.

3. the first battery, erected for beginning to batter the place.

4. retrenchments, which they abandoned.

5. the ruins of an old town, long since destroyed, which was situated at the bottom of a hill, of which remains nothing but a few parts of the old walls.

6. lines or intrenchments of the grenadiers of the garrison, out of which they make their sallies, having several times obliged the Moors to retire further.

7. a kind of covert way pallisadoed, called estagades.

8. ground gained upon the enemy in their attack upon the bastion St. Francis Havar.

9. work called the angle of St. Paul.

10. St. James's bastion.

11. the new ravelin.

12. horn-work covering the front of the place.

13. bridge to communicate to the out-works.

14. rampart round the place.

15. powder magazine.

16. The

16. the mole for covering the battoes.
17. bridge of stone to go to the mountain.
18. convent of St. Francis.
19. convent of mercy.
20. the king's hospital.
21. the general's house.
22. magazine of St. Peter, where the provisions are kept.
23. the chapel of St. Anazaive.
24. small caves or landing-places.
25. Walls which surround the whole accessible part of the peninsula of the mountain.
26. fort St. Amazo.
27. fort St. Catherine.
28. fort of the Great Nose.
29. parts of the old walls and small towers.
30. On the highest part of the mountain is a tower called the Hatche, where is put a centinel to make signals upon any motion the Moors are making. From this place the whole country round about, and the camp of the enemy, is discovered; and may discover any works that are done by them.
31. Guard-house, where a small guard of six or eight men are kept to relieve the centinel.
32. the chapel.

Before the enemy had taken Gibraltar, it was very easy to send succours to Ceuta, and to transport the necessary ammunition to the garrison; but at present, the whole is sent from Cadiz, and is very difficult to transport troops and provisions there, on account of the frigates which lie in the bay of Gibraltar, which command the entrance of the Straits; but, however, when the wind is good, they pass under favour of the night.

But to return to the road of Tetuan: to secure a landing, and to cover their gallies, if chased by an enemy, and the entrance of their river, which meanders beautifully through a pleasant level country

country towards a river; which river, unluckily for the Moors, has a bar at the entrance: they have raised a square tower of solid masonry to a great height, and a rampart and parapet with loop-holes for cannon: this is on the west side of the river, navigable for small vessels as far as Marteen, (a place about two miles from the bay, and on the west side) where they load and unload their goods.

The plain of Tetuan extends from the mouth of the river (which in the Arabian dialect is called Docmilwad) up to the town through a fertile country to its source of seventeen miles. The Spaniards attempted to choak up the mouth, by sinking vessels loaded with stones, but the Moors found means to open it. This river changes its name every mile or two: opposite the town it is called, Elwad Ketan, or the river of Ketan; then Elwad Belemedan; then Elwad Magageshetwa; then Elwad Marteen, the custom-house, where the officers are very strict; then Docmilwad. On the south of the river are undulating cultivated hills, and on their backs prodigious mountains, inhabited by wandering tigers, that sometimes descend into the plains: the inhabitants of the first hills and nearest to the sea, are called Belemedans, who are friends to the town: but those opposite Tetuan, called Brabras, i. e. mountaineers, are their enemies: on the side of these hills, is the small town Busamlan. At the custom-house (marteen) are drawn on shore the gallies, the largest is ninety-six palms long, equal to seventy-two feet, allowing nine inches to a palm: she had sixty-nine ribs, carried ninety men, with two three pounders, and four swivels, and was rowed with thirty oars. At the launching of these barks, all the men, women, and children, attend with great rejoicing, wishing the galley success, &c. They are built close to the town, and from thence carried and launched into the river at half a mile's distance. On the south side of the river, and in the district of Belemedan is a delightful retreat, called Boswell's bower, from Mr. George Boswell, an English merchant, who

who resided many years at Tetuan, and there resigned his breath: he, it seems, spent a great deal of his time in reading under the shade of these large spreading olive trees, which crowns the summit of a gentle and easy ascending fertile tump, and from the top you command the plain to Tetuan, the wide spreading sea, and the large plain on the north side of the river, which is much broader and longer than from the Mediterranean shore to the town. Along the coast are beacons, on which they make fires to give notice when any attempt is made to land. The soil is very rich, but mostly uncultivated: in the middle of this plain is a thick cluster of trees, which the Tetuanese call Gemmetase est, that is to say, the church or sanctuary of Tasse, a saint who was there buried, a small square, two feet high, built over his grave, which is the sanctuary. Here the European residents of Tetuan retire to, as at Boswell's bower, which is much the same distance, forming almost an equilateral triangle. In winter, vast quantities of game frequent these plains and river, if the rains are not too severe, which break down the banks and overflow the whole, to the great joy of the neighbouring inhabitants; and, like a second Nile, fattens the earth, that produces in great abundance. Near the town, and on the sides of their hills, are inclosures made of shrubs and reeds mixed with aloes: the anemone, lupine, jonquil, and many other bulbous roots, are natives of these plains.

The woods are scarce and mean, and fitter to warm the house than build it. Their groves consist chiefly of cork trees, which seem to differ but little from the scarlet oak, excepting the indenture of their leaves: their fruit is a small kind of acorn, woody within: at the root of these trees is usually found the lentisco, which is generally but a shrub, and of little other service to the Moors than to feed their goats: the juice whereof, mingled with other ingredients, is used by the potters to give a faint colour to their earthen ware, which they find to enhance the price, and advance the sale.

The

The next remarkable sort of wood, is the alcaróbe, a tree of great curiosity, and merits much notice: the alcaróbe bears a cod, in quantity and likeness much resembling the English bean; the inner substance thereof is sweet, and lodgeth hard small kernels; this fruit is eaten by the Moors of inferiour condition, and by all, at the feast Ashorah: but it is chiefly preserved for their horses, to whom it is both physic and repast: for the fruit of the alcaróbe hath two excellent properties, to drench, and make their horses fat.

Some have called the fruit locusta, and supposed it was the baptist's food in the wilderness: but others conjecture that St. Matthew's *Αχρίδες*, were only the tops and extremities of herbs and plants; and there are also some judicious critics, who interpret the baptist's locusts to be a kind of fly, or grasshopper, which in warmer climates are very large and many, and were formerly dried and eaten by the inhabitants: but they were observed to yield but small nutriment, and ever thought fitter for medicine than aliment.

There is a great probability that the fruit of the alcaróbe is the same with the prodigal's ceratia, or husks; for it doth excellently accord with their description.

Besides the sallad ordinary in other countries, they have one sort rarely to be met with in Europe, which they call by a word, sounding in Spanish tomatos: this grows in the common fields, and when ripe is plucked and eaten with oil: it is pleasant, but apt to cloy. Barengenos, as in Spain, grows creeping like cucumbers upon the ground; these are boiled with beef and mutton, and in no small esteem among the Moors.

The palm tree must be mentioned; it is well known that these trees are male and female, and that the fruit will be dry and insipid without a previous communication with the male. In the month of March or April, therefore, when the sheaths that inclose the young clusters of the flowers and fruit, i. e. of the male and

female, begin to open; (at which time the dates are formed, and the flowers are mealy) they take a sprig or two of the male cluster, and insert it in the sheath of the female; or else they take a whole cluster of the male tree, and sprinkle the farina of it over several clusters of the female: the latter practice is common in Egypt, where they have a number of males: but the trees of this country are impregnated by the former method, where one male is sufficient to impregnate four or five hundred females.

It is said, that the palm tree is in its greatest vigour about thirty years after transplantation (1), and that it continues in full vigour seventy years longer, bearing yearly, all this time, fifteen or twenty clusters of dates, each of them fifteen or twenty pounds weight: after this period they begin gradually to moulder and pine away, usually falling about the latter end of their second century: they require no other culture and attendance than to be well watered once in four or five days, and to have the lower boughs plucked off, whenever they begin to droop or wither.

Before the Moor sows his ground, he plows; when the grain is cast, he plows it over again, across the first furrows, all performed by oxen, who draw by their foreheads: and when they compliment their alcaide (i. e. governour) with a piece of virgin earth, all hands go to the plow, which they call tuesfa; this compliment is generally once a year, and happened when I was in the country. It is pretty to see an hundred plows divided into three squadrons, turning up the glebe, all in motion, crossing each other, with commanders of squadrons directing, and the alcaide attending, with his horse and foot guards in attendance also.

Mr. Lancelot Addison (2) justly observes, there appears but little industry in the Moors husbandry, for their tillage is so mean, that he that sees it may justly wonder, that the land under such small improvement should be so fruitful: in most parts they plow

(1) Addison.

(2) Vid. his short Narrative of West Barbary, p. 93.

but with two oxen, carelessly tied by the horns, and in some cavilas (i. e. like our counties or shires) with a like number of asses, mules, camels, and a baser breed of horses; the plow turning up no more mould than sufficeth to bury the seed: for (says the Moor) if the furrows should be deep, and the drought begin, before the corn hath broken the earth, it would not be able to force a passage through the stiff clods. They use no labour to assist the arable land by manuring it, except that the ordure of their towns is cast out, not so much to enrich the glebe, as to keep themselves cleanly: but this painful part of husbandry is supplied by the anniversary burning of the withered grass and stubble, which serves to keep the soil, and destroy the vermin, which otherwise, especially the scorpion, would render the country very dangerous for habitation. When the Moors have reaped their corn, they tread it out with oxen, damsels, &c. and winnow upon the place where it grows, and then set the chaff on fire: instead of granaries, they have caves bricked or wrought with stone, called matamoras, in which they deposit their corn, where it is preserved from the worm, and other enemies: the straw they chop, and keep for their horses; for although there is abundance of herbage, yet no part thereof is cured and preserved for a winter store of hay, which he imputes to the Moors sloth, rather than the needlessness of such a provision. The ground produces great quantities of wheat, barley, pease, beans, hemp, and flax: oats they have none; and they reap three times between May and September.

The town of Tetuan, on the north part of Barbary, is eighteen leagues from Calpe, and seven from Ceuta; and the most civilized town in all that country. At a distance it looks like an encampment, the houses being white and flat; the situation delightful, as the country lies all below, except on the back of the castle: the town is built on an easy ascending, but rocky hill, walled quite round; part done by the alcaide Lucas, of an Andalusian family

in Spain, and by his predecessor Temmim, and the basha Hamed Ben Ally Ben Abdallah, who resided as governour in one thousand seven hundred and twenty, &c. though not quite finished at this time: in several places it has two walls, and at others, three: it is in circumference four miles, containing forty thousand inhabitants: its garrison consists of fifteen hundred men, and four hundred horse. Almost on the summit of the hill is the castle that commands the town, but is of no great strength, as the hill still continues to ascend, where batteries may easily be erected, so as to render it of no service. The walls of the castle and town, which are made of rotten stone, is very thin: the parapets for muskets being but one foot and a half thick, and the rampart three and a half. Round this town are hexagon, round and square towers for flanks. Some part of the wall is made of tapia, i. e. mud and mortar, framed in wooden cases, and dried in the sun. On the top of most of these towers, as well in the castle as town, they have their batteries, which are high, and are solid from their bases; yet their upper works are very thin, and at the same time very much straitened for want of room to work their guns. The master gunner, William Waitly, a Londoner, and renegado, in what they call shaban, which answers to our month of June, conducted us round their works; many of their guns were vere bad, yet they had eighteen six pounders iron, and four six pounders brass, once belonging to a Dutch twenty gun ship, that was drove on shore between Ceuta point, (by a Levant wind) and cape Porcas; the ship was commanded by captain Stenefs, whom they sent to Fez, with the crew: there were eighteen pounders not mounted, very good; they were brought by Muley Mustady, who laid siege to the place. On the back of the castle is a large spring that supplies the town, but is of a very hard quality: therefore the inhabitants are obliged to use rain water, collected for that purpose; as the men are bearded, they have no occasion to shave; yet as the women are wont to shave, they use the earth fossol, which is brought

Brought from Morocco: to half an ounce, they put the quantity of wood ashes, that will lay on a shilling, with the same quantity of lime, and half that of soap; they warm it all together on the fire, then rub it over the part, which takes off the hair. The water from the above spring runs under every street, and is conducted by large earthen pipes, into every house, where it falls from a lead or iron pipe into a large basin of stone, having a niche on the brim, the water falls into another smaller, where overflowing, it runs into a duct that conveys it elsewhere: in the depth of winter it is very warm, and runs smoking through every house; but in summer it is as cold: the cold is very severe for the time it lasts, and as their houses are all built for coolness, and in the same stile, not deviating essentially one from the other, they feel the frigidity of the air very severely. Each house consists of a (base) square court, like to those in Spain; round or square pillars support a gallery: round the square below, and the gallery above, are the rooms, with large folding doors, but seldom have any windows, and those are facing the gallery: air holes are over each door. They have no fire places, but in the kitchen, on the side of which is the warm bath. All the rooms are longer by a third, yet are not at right angles, neither are the courts: the tops of their houses are flat, and the walls all white; which makes the town at a distance look like an encampment: round the tops of the houses they have a thin wall, breast high, with an opening and passage from one house to the other, and where the streets separate the building, they fling arches across, and where one house is higher than the other, they ascend or descend by steps: the women and men receive and return their visits on the tops of houses: the Moorish women live in the upper apartments, and therefore often visit one another. The houses of Jews, or merchants of whatsoever nation, are obliged to raise their walls higher, and are not suffered to look over into the Moors. Mr. Pettigrew told me, that they obliged him to raise his wall two feet on that account.

account. The place where the Jews reside, is called the Jewd'ry; they are very numerous, supposed five thousand: they have seven synagogues, and no more than one hundred and seventy houses, and pay great taxes: they are only suffered to walk at particular parts of the town: half an hour after sun-set, they are locked in their district, and are let out, an hour before day break. Twice a week they are taken to work, at repairing of walls, &c. with the Christian slaves, and, like them, are never rewarded for their labour. The streets are very narrow, dirty, and dark; the gloom is owing to the communication on the top of their houses, which as I have observed is flat, with a little decline, so as to carry off the rain down an earthen pipe, which runs into, and cleanses the necessary. Over the open square on the top of most of their houses, are iron grates quite across, to prevent robbery. The people, like the Spaniards, are very much inclined to sloth; the latter struts muffled up, cloaking it in the sun; and the former lounging in the alhaige from morn till eve. The shops are separate from their dwellings, resembling our cobblers stalls, and the furniture of their houses consists chiefly of mats and crockery ware: when they eat, they neither make use of tables or chairs. They sit cross-legged on their mats, and place their dishes upon large greasy pieces of leather, which serves both for table and table cloth: their dishes are either pewter or earthen ware, made wide at top, and narrow at bottom; while they eat, a servant stands behind them with a great bowl of water in one hand, and a long piece of blue linen in the other, to wipe their right hand, which they only use to pull their victuals to pieces, being generally done to rags, as we call it: their left hand is never used at their meals, either in eating or drinking; for that waits only on the necessary occasions of nature. It is against the law to drink out of gold or silver vessels, neither are they permitted to drink spirituous liquors, or wines, except cyder; however, I have seen them often drunk, yet never to strike, as they are not allowed to lift the hand against each other;

other; though it is said that basha Hamet, being much in liquor at one time, drew his scymitar, and laid about him among his people. There are five large mosques, and twelve saints houses: the mosques and other public buildings are grand, though in the Morisco taste. Whenever a great saint dies, they raise a mosque over his tomb: the mosques are open all day; and though strangers are not permitted to enter them under the severe penalty of forsaking his religion, and embracing that of Mahomet, yet they may look in, as passing. In their mosques they have no paintings, images, or any thing for ostentation or superstition, but pure simple nature ranges through the whole: mats cover the bottom and sides, and the pillars are lined with the same to a certain height, having running water in them; but such as are built upon high places, have wells. Steeples there are to most of them, and on their tops, high gibbets are erected, at the ends of them are banners (white and brown) which are hoisted in the day time, as signals for the inhabitants to come to mosque. The steeple stands indifferently in any part of the church. They have two sorts of priests, marabouts and santons, who have twelve cloysters; the chief of them is called mufti. Their cloysters are an asylum for all manner of crimes, except those against the government. There is not any difference in their dress from the common people, only that on the top of their shoes they have a fleur de Louis embroidered, and their beards are dyed red. The marabout in the night from the top of the steeple, (first turning toward the east, because Mecca lies that way) with a loud voice cries out, "La Alla illa Alla, Mahomet Resoul Alla;" that is, "God is the great God, and Mahomet is his prophet:" by his cries they know the hour of the night, and by the flags those of the day. The fast of Ramdan continues a month; it is the greatest they have, and is kept very strict: after this fast they celebrate their passover, called Bairam, which continues three days, in which time they are very devout. Their sabbath is kept on our
Fridays,

Fridays, on which day they frequent their burial ground, but would not permit us to visit it, because they hold the sepulchres of the dead in great veneration, and the ground sacred. I saw both men and women praying by the tombs of the deceased, while others were beating on drums and playing on pipes, and this they also do at their saints houses. Most of their interments have a building covered with a cupola, because Mahomet has at Medina (where he is (3) buried) a magnificent building covered with a cupola. The inhabitants are mostly descendents of those Moors and Jews, who were driven out of Spain; the latter of whom carry on here a very considerable trade.

Mr. Addison gives us the pious forms used by the Moors in their salutations and letters: the air and genius of devotion and piety are observable in those I have already given to the earl Tivetot, governour of Tangier. I shall now give their salutations: there is none, says my author (4), that has had any intimacy with the Moors in this particular, but he might observe a great appearance of piety in all their customary expressions. A Moor on his setting out on a journey in the morning, with zeal and humility looks up to heaven, and in a low voice, says, "Bismillah;" that is, "In the name of God:" which is also done at the beginning of any labour or travel: by which they intend, that nothing ought to be enterprized, but in the power and hope of divine favour and help; and when the work or journey is finished, they say, "Ham derillah!" "Thanks be unto God!" in which words they deny all pretensions of success to themselves. When they meet one another upon the road, &c. their greetings at large is this thanksgiving, "El ham dillah al Salam tigfi;" i. e. "God be praised that I see you well:" but in passing by one another, the salutation is usually this prayer; if there be no more but one,

(3) Vid. Sale's Koran, § i. p. 5. Also Univ. Hist. Vol. xviii. p. 362.

(4) L. Addison's short Narrative of West Barbary, p. 115.

" Salam

"Salam alleg:" if more than one, "Salam alleg cum;" "Peace be with you." At the hearing of one another sneeze, they say, "Era hanig Alla;" "God be your keeper." When one Moor goes to see another at his house, the first that receives him, saith, "Marhába," or "Welcome;" which, if repeated thrice, is an undoubted mark that they are glad to see him; which kind reception he requites with saying, "Alla ella mig;" i. e. "God pay you." Such is the air of piety among the Moors of Barbary. The title of hadgi is granted to all that have performed the hage, or pilgrimage to their prophet's tomb (5).

The favourite dish of the Moors is cuscusu; they take whole wheat, and mix it with flour and water to a stiff consistency; then they put it in an earthen bowl, with holes at the bottom, which bowl they put on the top of a kettle, binding round the rim of the kettle, so as to prevent the steam from evaporating but through the holes of the bowl which covers the kettle: in the kettle are fowls, beef, and mutton, seasoned well with spice. They generally fill their bellies without speaking to each other, and after meals they drink water: they use neither knife, fork, nor plates; for after first washing their hands, and tucking up their long sleeves, every man thrusts his hand in the dish, and takes up as much as he can put in his mouth at one time, first asking God leave, and returning thanks afterwards. When the women visit each other, they leave their slippers at the door of the room, to give notice that a stranger is within; during the visit, the men refrain from going in, although their wives and daughters are there, being very punctual in observing the ceremonies relative to the female sex. Their marriage form is very singular, and their custom of not letting their women appear in sight, prevails to such a degree, that when a man has an inclination to take a wife, either his mother, or some of his female relations must court for him;

(5) Idem, p. 17.

and when the match is agreed on, which is done before the cady (or justice) the bride is to keep in for eight days, her friends rejoicing with her every day, and the talb, or great priest, visiting and discoursing with her on that holy state. They pin the basket with a religious hymn appointed for that purpose. The husband with his friends undergoes the same ceremony for five days before consummation, in a house which he has, or must hire for that purpose, there to carry his wife, when married. On the last day the bride is put into a cage, covered with a fine white linen cloth, and carried on men's shoulders to the house of her intended husband, her friends and relations, with music, going before her: her brother (if she has one) leads her into the house, where a room is set apart to receive her and the women; the man remains in his apartment with his friends: when the evening approaches, they are set at liberty by the company, and he retires to his wife's apartment, there finding her alone, and placed on a cushion of velvet or silk, or any such fine thing as they can borrow, (if they have them not of their own) under the cushion is a silk quilt, and before her stands a little table, of a foot in height, with two wax candles lighted: upon her head she wears a silk scarf, tied in a knot, the two ends hanging on the ground behind her; her sleeve like a train, also hangs behind, and her vest is of silk or velvet, buttoned close to her wrists, and reaches down to the middle of her legs, adorned with lace at the hands and breast; she has linen drawers, and collars of pearls and fine stones; if she cannot get them, lion's claws, or eagle's tipt with silver, she must wear: in her ears, are great rings of gold or silver, and the same round her wrists and ancles, sometimes set with precious stones; her slippers have thick soles made of cork; they are of gilt leather, and edged with the same, which is a mark of great distinction among them, the emperor and some few only wearing them: her cheeks are painted with cochineal, and with it they make a great spot on each cheek; their eye-brows are blacked, and continued round their temples,
like

like to a pair of whiskers; they likewise make some black spots in imitation of patches near the nose and lips; a black snip on the end of their nose, and a long stroke, the breadth of a straw, from the chin down to the pit of the stomach: they paint, or rather stain their eye-lids with a black powder, which they call *alcohol*; putting some of it into their eyes, with a little stick: the palms of their hands are black, and from the top of their thumbs round the fleshy part, is a black stroke; and one from the end of each finger, to their palm: their nails are dyed yellow. They have likewise many fine scrolls of black on the top of their feet, and their toe nails are also dyed yellow. Thus beautified, the bride sits behind the table, holding her hands the height of her face, with the palms towards her, a foot distance off each other, and as much from her face; upon which she is to look, but not on her husband, who is to seize her, as soon as let into the room, and lift her upon the bed place, which is four feet high; there he strips her, she not assisting in the least, neither is she to speak for three days: thus being divested of her apparel, he endeavours as quick as possible to loosen her zone, that he may deliver her drawers to the two black women (that keep the door) who carry them to the rest of the good women; and if such signs appear as is expected, the music plays; but if he does not send out the drawers, the music must not play; for which reason it is necessary, that he acquits himself of his manhood as quick as possible; for besides the hazard of his reputation, the company will meet every day, until the drawers are sent out to the women. If the proper signs appear, the drawers are sent to all their relations in triumph, (as is still practised in Spain;) but if he finds her to be no maid, he then strips her of all gaiety, and turns her out of doors the next moment. The bridegroom is obliged to stay at home seven days, and the bride a whole year. She is kept ever after so close from the rest of mankind, that even her father or brother cannot have the privilege of a visit unless her husband

is present. This account of their marriages I copied in the country from a manuscript, written by the renegado just mentioned, and who had two wives; and which I have, since I wrote this book, seen published, and therefore take this notice, as it proves my assertion (6).

The dress of the Africans is very singular, but not ungraceful; the men wear short shirts (called *alcameja*) with very broad sleeves, that sometimes hang down, but more frequently are tucked up to their shoulders in summer, to keep them cool; they wear linen drawers (*fervel*) which are tied round their waist next to the skin, and reach down to their knees: they go bare legged, and on their feet wear slippers of red or yellow Morocco leather (the *fobat*). Over their shirts a cloth vest (*sedred*) then a coat (*afatan*) bound round with a sash (*alhazem*) over the coat a loose garment, like that of the highlanders, all white (*alhaeg*) and over that, a mantle with a cowl, (*albaarnos*) and on their head a red cap, (*shac-hea*) and round their heads a turban, (*ashid*).

The women wear the *alcameja*, and the *fervel*, with muslin twisted round their legs, from the ankle to the knee: they wear the *fobat*, and *alhaeg*; on their head the *themro* (a hat) and their faces are covered with a piece of linen (*lethem*) which goes from under their eyes, down to their chin; so what with the *alhaeg*, *themro*, and *lethem*, it is impossible to see any part of their face, but their eyes: they adorn themselves with (*alhathems*) rings; and (*alhorfa*) ear-rings; both men and women use beads, as the Roman catholics, which they call *attusbath*. Their market days are on our Sundays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, when corn and cattle are brought from the mountains, and wandering Arabs: the corn is sold generally for two *blanquils*, six *fluces* the *almud*, which is equal to a *feneg*, and the common market horses at six, seven, eight, &c. gold ducats: but the barbs are very dear,

(6) Vid. Journey to Mequinez, published in 1725.

as seven hundred gold ducats are given for them by the alcaide and others. The coin of the country are fluces, twenty-four makes one blanquil, four blanquils one ounce, ten ounces a ducat imaginary silver, thirteen and a half make a gold ducat, that is, a sequin.

When basha Hamet governed this country, a stranger could travel wherever he pleased, without molestation; but now it is reversed, for since the death of Hamet, there has been a division between the town and mountaineers, who destroyed his summer and town-house: for when Muley Ishmael died, Muley Hamet Dahebbby succeeded his father Muley Ishmael, because his mother was the emperour's favourite, though at the same time Muley Abdelmeleck, son to the emperour by another woman, was two years older than Dahebbby; the reason why the younger was preferred to the elder, was, because Abdelmeleck's mother was not in that esteem with Ishmael, as was Dahebbby's, and on that account was set aside; it was not long before Muley Abdalla, son to Ishmael by a concubine, attempted to wrest the empire from Dahebbby; but was worsted in a skirmish, and forced to fly: and soon after, the above competitors Dahebbby and Abdelmeleck brought a general insurrection through the empire; and Dahebbby's reign being disorderly, beastly, and blood-thirsty, was by the people deposed, and Abdelmeleck chose in his stead: at this time basha Hamet remained in his government at Tetuan; neither was it long that Abdelmeleck enjoyed his new empire; for a rash declaration of his, that he would not suffer any negroes near his person, was the cause of his overthrow: those people finding means to dethrone Abdelmeleck, and reinstate Muley Dahebbby; and no sooner was he once more on the throne, but that he put several of Abdelmeleck's creatures to death, and secured those that were the least suspected: he likewise encouraged his negroes, trusting all his affairs entirely to them; but these proceedings gave the people of Fez great disgust to their new emperour, and they accordingly committed

committed great outrages. At this critical juncture, the people of Tetuan, and the province under basha Hamet, (who was a great friend to the English) sided with Fez; but the people of the mountains soon revolted from their governour Hamet, under one Bollise that committed the first hostilities upon the inhabitants of the country where the basha was born. News being brought to Tetuan, the basha assembled the inhabitants of the town, and asked, whether they would repulse the mountaineers; to which question they excused themselves: this obliged the basha to raise the blockade of Ceuta, and out of five thousand, which lay before that place, only four hundred blacks remained with him, and but a few whites; however, five hundred horse were sent to him from Tangier, which garrison was kept in his interest by his brother. Now the basha took the field, leaving his brother with the negroes to secure the town and castle of Tetuan in his absence; but no sooner was Hamet in the field, than the townsmen despising their new governor and negro guard, rose and forced them into the basha's town-house, which house the negroes were determined to defend to the last; but perceiving the Tetuanese were likely to possess themselves of the basha's gunpowder, they blew it up, being lodged in a house near the basha's: the blast put the townsmen into a great consternation, and their confusion gave the governour an opportunity of fallying to a saint's house, from which in a few days he made his escape and joined his brother. In the interim, the Tetuanese entered the house, and destroyed it in their rage, with the gardens, as the mountaineers had done to his pleasure-house in the country; declaring Muley Hamet Dahebby emperor, to whom they sent several accusations against basha Hamet, who, they said, had taxed them so severely, at the same time begging a new basha. Hamet was forced to retreat to Tangier, and the emperor endeavoured to reconcile the people of Tetuan to their last basha Hamet; but the articles proposed by the emperor were rejected by Hamet: accordingly alcaide Abdelmeleck

delmeleck Busfra, was made basha of Tetuan; and basha Hamet had the government of Larach, Arzilla, and Tangier, allotted him. These divisions among the Moors were of infinite advantage to the garrison of Gibraltar, during the siege, as both parties courted our friendship, and proper use was made of it on our side; for in the year one thousand seven hundred and twenty-seven, the *Rose*, captain Cooper, was dispatched to Tangier with the agent victualler's clerk, to buy cattle for the garrison that was in great want: on the other side captain Fountain with two transports arrived at Tetuan, he being appointed agent for the fascines; lord Portmore and captain Campbell, of colonel Middleton's regiment, went over with him; and at another time engineer Moor went with captain Fountain to Tetuan for more fascines to complete the works of Gibraltar, in case the siege should begin again; likewise to contract for fire wood for the garrison, all the wood and fascines were cut in a bay within sight of Ceuta, and to the east of it: certain it is, that the place was supplied from Tetuan and Tangier with gabions, fascines, pickets, brush for cleaning the ships, provisions, and many other necessaries, which could not have been had nearer than Portugal and Oran; and our sick must have perished, since their nourishment came from those two places. Basha Hamet raised forces, and marched from Tangier to Tetuan, which he stormed, and would have reinstated himself, had not his troops minded plunder more than victory: he attempted a second time to reduce that place, but his men, who had entered the town, not being succoured, he miscarried, and marched back to Tangier. Hamet behaved very ill, placing himself upon the top of a mountain, and there remained the whole time of the engagement.

The basha's summer-house, or villa, about two miles out of town, once a magnificent structure, is situated in a vale, on the opposite side of the river, and was not quite finished when he was obliged to leave his government. The gardens that surround
this

this seat are large; and the walks were covered with vines, which yielded shade from the scorching heat of the sun's beams. This wilderness of sweets consisted of orange, lemon, and lime-trees, with figs, dates, pomegranates, almonds, tamarinds, chestnuts, quinces, &c. and is washed by the river that glides by the border: in this building are two large squares, in the middle of the outward one was a fountain paved with Dutch tiles; and at the height of twelve feet from the ground was a terrace walk covered at top, and supported by pillars that went round both the squares, under which basha Hamet used to walk, and particularly under that of the inward square, in which was a beautiful bath for his women. I have been very credibly informed, that their number exceeded two hundred, and many of them very beautiful. When the basha had an inclination to see several of his women together, he gave orders that they might assemble and bathe; and as the bull singles from the herd, so would he his lovely Io: the square and baths are as in the plan; and the bottom of each bath was paved with small Dutch tiles of three inches square, they are of various colours; likewise the sides, and on the top of the partition walls were tiles of the same sort: these baths were filled from a grand reservoir which he made, from whence through a large earthen pipe the water was conveyed to the baths; and at the bottom of every one of them, a hole lets the water from one to the other; there is likewise a second large earthen pipe, which carries the water off whenever they have occasion to cleanse them: when these baths are full, they took the women three-fourths up their thighs, and in a square next to each corner was a beautiful orange tree, as in the plan.

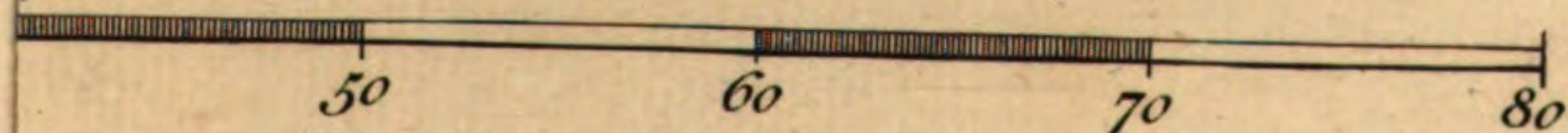
The importation for all merchandise is to the alcaide eight per cent. and exportation, as for cattle, &c. as follows: oxen twenty ounces each, sheep four ounces, a fowl one blanquil, live partridges half a blanquil each; a kintle of wax (candles) which is equal to one hundred and twelve pounds English, four ducats; but

*Bashaw Hamet's Summer House
before it was destroyed.*



Tho. Davies fecit. 1768.

of Feet



nces.

D. Walk round the Baths. E. Steps to descend.

but the exportation of corn is prohibited. Almonds, dates, gum Arabic, Morocco skins, raw hides, copper, and honey, are exported.

The vineyards are many, which produce very fine white and red wine, resembling burgundy both in colour and flavour, and is sold for one blanquil and six fluces a bottle.

The Moors in general are great horsemen, they ride very short, like the hussars; their saddles have two great peaks, behind and before, and their stirrups are placed farther behind their saddle than ours, and are made to shape the sole of their feet, being almost as long, and their spurs are rather spikes than any thing else. Their horse stand fire extremely well, but their attacks are generally very irregular; to be flung from the horse, or to have the spear forced out of their hands, is looked upon to be a very great disgrace: the foot, for want of proper discipline, are greatly terrified at the approach of a body of horse: their muskets are very long in the barrels both horse and foot; and the horsemen can fire from either shoulder, on a full gallop, turning the piece over their heads, and leaving the reins on the horse's neck; and as soon as they have discharged their piece, the horse of his own accord will stop, turn round and gallop back with his rider, to the squadron from whence he sallied, where they have a party of foot that loads their muskets for them.

The horse, formerly the glory and distinguishing badge of Numidia, hath of late very much degenerated in these kingdoms (7); or rather the Arabs have been discouraged from keeping up a fine race, which the Turkish officers were sure at one time or other to seize: at present, therefore, the Tingitanans and Egyptians have justly the reputation of preserving the best breed, which no longer than a century ago, they had only in common with their neighbours: a valuable and well taught Barbary horse (besides the supposed quality of never lying down, and of standing quiet,

(7) Addison's short Narrative of West Barbary.

when the rider quits him, by dropping the bridle) is to have a long pace, and to stop short, if required, in a full career: the first quality shewing the goodness and perfection of the horse, and a proper management of the latter, the whole dexterity and address of the rider: no other motions are either practised or admired in this country; it being accounted very unpolite among the Arabs to trot and amble: but the Egyptian horses have deservedly the preference of all others for size and beauty; the smallest of which are usually sixteen hands high; and all of them shaped, according to the phrase, "Kiff el Gazel," "like the Antelope."

The produce of this empire, is hides, corn, oil, wine, wax, honey, silk, gums, and fine wool, this is the northern produce; and that of the south is cotton, ginger, sugar, and indigo; they have also several mines of copper, and both gold and silver mines; the plains produce wheat, flax, hemp, and fine horses, camels, lions, tygers, leopards, and many other beasts.

The (ackrab) scorpion has its noxious qualities; some of the species are long and narrow, others of a rounder shape, and larger, having each of them a tail consisting of six joints; I never heard of any that had seven: those of a dark complexion have venom so malignant, that the sting is frequently attended with death.

The imports to Barbary are cloths, both linen and woollen; iron in bars, and wrought; brimstone, gunpowder, arms, and lead, though they make very good firelocks, pistols, and swords; thus much for Barbary: I shall only observe, that the gallies of this nation, which they call xebecks, would be of very great service to us, was Gibraltar besieged, and were of infinite use to the Spaniards, when they laid siege to that fortress in the year one thousand seven hundred and twenty-seven; and for want of those gallies or row boats, the enemy in spite of our men of war supplied their camp with all manner of provisions, guns, and stores of every kind, which they brought close along their coast, in small

em-

embarkations, by whole fleets at a time, under the protection of two half gallies, or xebecks, which were greatly an over-match for our men of war's boats.

After remaining six weeks among the descendents of Phut, we embarked and weighed anchor from the bay, between cape Tetuan and cape Porcas, which the Moors call Rustorff: this last cape forms two bays, one to Tetuan point, and the other to Africa point, upon the peninsula of Ceuta: as we passed this peninsula, we could easily perceive all the small bays and indentures between the rocks fortified, and the many cannon mounted, as at Gibraltar; and indeed they let us know that they had heavy pieces of ordnance, as we were getting the point close on board, in our passage to Tetuan: for the captain, who being a Swede and perverse, would not shew his colours, saying, that he had often passed, and that they ought to know his vessel: however, the Spaniard could not reach us.

Ceuta, after a variety of masters, devolved to the Moors, with the other towns in Mauritania: but the republic of Genoa, in one thousand two hundred and thirty-one, got possessed of the port and town. This seems to me, that the town stood upon one of the hills, where the circuit of walls is still to be seen; and the port to have been at the narrow isthmus where the town now is: how the Genoese came into possession, the chevalier de Mailly (their historiographer) does not say: but the author of a small treatise, in 12mo. printed at Paris in one thousand seven hundred and twenty-nine, entitled, *Essai de l'Histoire du Commerce de Venise*, relates, " That the Genoese, about this time, took Ceuta
" from a petty Moorish prince: they were, it seems (says Mailly)
" threatened to be disturbed in their possession of this place by the
" Moorish cruizers of Mureia in Spain; but the Genoese fleet
" made those ships retreat to their capital city of Carthagen;
" and having put into Ceuta, they were there regaled with mag-
" nificent presents, and all kind of refreshments by the Moorish

“ king of Seville :” so great is the credit, influence, and authority which will ever attend on the people who are masters at sea.

“ And so superiour was the maritime skill of the Genoese in those days, (says Petrus Baptista Burgus, in his treatise *De Dominio serenissimæ Genoenfis reipublicæ in mari Ligustico*, in 4to. Romæ, 1641. lib. ii. cap. 8.) that authors have preferred them to all other nations whatever: and indeed (adds he) our city has so excelled in maritime skill at all times, that no commander of any other state can scarcely be found that has taken so many towns, subdued so many isles and barbarous nations, or so frequently brought home the enemies ships and spoil triumphantly, as many of our commanders have done (8).”

Ceuta, when under the Gothic government, was besieged by the Moors. Dr. Ferrara, (who had been so long and so very successful in purging the Spanish history of whatever carried the least resemblance of fiction or falsity) says, that count Julian defended Ceuta when it was besieged by Moufa, with such great valour, zeal, and resolution, that he must infallibly have received gross insult from king Roderic to induce him to bring the Moors into Spain; for this reason I therefore conclude, the dissoluteness of Roderic occasioned seeds for rebellion in Spain, which, with his rape on Cava, and revenge of her father count Julian, was the fatal cause of the ruin and subversion of the Gothic empire. The remembrance has remained so deeply engraved in the hearts of the whole Spanish nation, that, by an uninterrupted tradition from father to son, they have transmitted it to posterity (9).

If the opinions of historians are different as to these particulars, they are much more so as to the day and year when the battle of Xeres was fought: however, after all, Roderic was defeated by the Moors on the twenty-sixth of July: and it is most certain,

(8) Vid. Anderson on Commerce, Vol. I. p. 110—111. de Sufa; and Vertot's Hist. of Spain.

(9) Vid. Farrje

that

that king Witiza died in the year seven hundred and ten; and, that a little after his death, king Roderic ravished count Julian's daughter, at the time when that unhappy father was in Africa, that she sent him an express to inform him of his misfortune which had happened to her; that count Julian, enraged against the injurer of his daughter's honour, and burning with impatience to be revenged, hastily passed over to Spain, where he made but a short stay; that returning to Africa, without losing a moment of time, he posted to Damascus to make proposals to the caliph Walid of attempting the conquest of Spain; that he soon returned back into Africa, and presently embarked with Tarif, in order to make a descent upon the coasts of Andalusia; that immediately he went to acquaint Moussa with the success of his expedition; that, without delay, he re-embarked with Tharic, and soon after their landing fought the decisive battle: now, in that interval of time, which intervened between the rape of his daughter and the end of the year seven hundred and eleven, count Julian might very easily, considering how he was spurred on, have effected all this, when one also considers the small distance of the places one from the other, having only the Straits of fifteen miles across from Africa to Europe to pass over: besides, it is to be observed, that had the count deferred his enterprize of introducing the Moors into Spain, from seven hundred and ten to seven hundred and fourteen; his conspiracy could never possibly have been kept so secret, but that king Roderic must certainly have had intelligence of his motions, and would not have failed to take all necessary measures towards preventing the direful effects thereof; whereas, by the attestations and authority of all the historiographers, as well ancient as modern, king Roderic was surprised unawares, and at the very instant, when, seduced and imposed upon by the impostures and insinuations of the revengeful count Julian, he was himself preparing to carry a war over to Africa.

I refer

I refer the reader back to the invasion; I shall only observe here, that Mr. Howell writes, that Roderic was either drowned or killed in the battle (1): yet afterwards he says, that in a city of Portugal, called Viceum, was long after found a stone with this inscription: "HERE LIES RODERIC, THE LAST KING OF THE GOTHs: "CURSED BE THE IMPIOUS FURY OF JULIAN, BECAUSE PERTINACIOUS; AND HIS INDIGNATION, BECAUSE EXTRAVAGANT: "HE WAS MAD WITH FURY, FIERCE WITH RAGE, FORGOT HIS "ALLEGIANCE, WAS UNMINDFUL OF RELIGION, A CONTEMNER "OF DIVINITY, CRUEL AGAINST HIMSELF, A MURDERER OF "HIS LORD, AN ENEMY OF HIS OWN DOMESTICS, A DESTROYER "OF HIS OWN COUNTRY, GUILTY IN REFERENCE TO ALL: LET "HIS MEMORY WAX BITTER IN EVERY MAN'S MOUTH, AND "MAY HIS NAME ROT FOR EVER."

On my passage back to the bay of Gibraltar, I found in the history of Portugal an action somewhat singular, fought between the fifteenth and sixteenth century, in the reign of Emanuel of Portugal. When Vasco Ferdinand Cæsar was cruising in the Straits of Gibraltar, which he kept clear of all enemies, not by his strength, which was inconsiderable, but by his gallant behaviour: having been informed by the master of a small galley, that four ships had taken a Portuguese vessel, and carried her off tied to the stern of the commodore, he sailed in quest of them, and at last descried them behind the mountain Calpe: and as he saw the flag ship separated from the rest, he made towards her, and having hailed those on board, asked them whence they were? They were English, but they made him no answer, and threatened him with immediate destruction, if he did not instantly strike to their flag: Cæsar being unused to act in so submissive a manner, refused to comply, and accordingly made ready for an engagement: the guns were fired with equal briskness on both sides;

(1) Howell's Pit. World, p. 500.

during

during the heat of the fight, those in the Portuguese vessels which had been taken, cut their cables, and disengaged themselves, without being perceived by the English. Cæsar lost seven of his men, and had many grievously wounded by the splinters of their shields shivered to pieces by the enemy's cannon. There was on board Cæsar's ship, a German, equally remarkable for his courage and strength of body: he had received fifteen wounds, and lost a vast quantity of blood. Cæsar advised him to quit the fight, to have his wounds bound up: "No, replied he, I will either die, or force this enemy to strike:" then raising up one of the guns on his shoulder, he ordered one of his companions to fire it off; which being accordingly repeated several times, it demolished the enemy's rigging, and carried off part of the mast, so that the English were filled with the utmost consternation. Another German was no less successful; the direction of his gun was so exact, that the ball coming in at the head of the ship, killed several on the deck, and carried off part of the stern. The English ship having twenty of their men killed, and many more wounded, now thought proper to strike, as did likewise the other ships, which, by contrary winds, were hindered from being present at the engagement. Cæsar now sent a long-boat, to ask the reason why the English had taken the Portuguese ship? they answered, "That they had only carried her along with them in order to preserve her from the attacks of the Moorish pirates, who infested those seas." Cæsar allowed the English to depart, and they put into Cadiz for refreshment; he himself sailed to Ceuta. Immanuel this year fitted out a large fleet under the command of Simon Cugna, and Tristan his son, who were to scour those seas of pirates. This year there was such an excessive drought in the northern parts of Africa, that the corn was quite parched up, and many of the people were cut off by famine. Great numbers of the Moors, pressed by this calamity, sent to Emanuel, telling him

him they were desirous to embrace the Christian faith, and willing to become slaves to those who would instruct them in the mysteries of our holy religion. The king very readily assented to this proposal; for so great was his zeal for Christianity, that under pretence for propagating it, he was very liable to be imposed upon. It is certain the Moors, under a pretext of religion, wanted only to supply their necessities; and it was highly probable, that, as soon as an opportunity offered, they would make no scruple to violate their pretended faith by the basest actions: it seemed therefore highly imprudent and dangerous to admit such inveterate enemies, as it were, into the bosom of our country: besides, a report prevailed, that the plague was in Africa, and people were apprehensive that it might be brought into Portugal: moreover, the Portuguese themselves were at this time in great want of provisions; for at the beginning of the year they had likewise had the most excessive drought, and in the months of March and April, such immoderate rains had fallen, as entirely rotted the young corn: when therefore the Moors offered to be slaves for their maintenance, not one of the Portuguese would accept of their service; so that great numbers of them perished by famine, in the most miserable manner.

I shall here subjoin directions for such as go into Barbary, from monsieur Mouvette, who was a slave in the country several years: the first thing they are to do the very day, or the day after their arrival, is to go and visit the governour of the town, and make him some handsome present, according to custom; and afterwards to pay him frequent visits to gain his friendship; for the Moors are very vain, and ambitious of honour, especially when they are in so considerable a post as that of a governour. They must complain to him whenever they have the least difference either with Moors or Jews; because that turns to his profit, by levying some fine; and to the end that these base people may not despise nor offer

offer them any wrong: for when the people perceive that the merchants have some interest with the governour, and that he espouses their quarrels, no man dares presume to offend them. When summoned by the governour to appear before him, or by any other, they must not fail to be there at the time appointed: they must take care to get friends amongst the governour's kindred and most familiar acquaintance, who may serve them upon many occasions, and particularly in obtaining any favour of him: they must be sure not to give any reviling language, or offensive answers to the Moors, before witnesses, much less to lift the hand to strike them, or to spit in their faces, or even in their presence when they are in a passion; for it is much better to complain to the governour, than to do themselves right, those men being very jealous of their authority: nevertheless they must not rely too much on the countenance a governour may seem to shew them, because they are all dogs that bite at the same time that they fawn; covetous fellows, who promise more than they design to perform, and grow rich by parting with nothing; regardless of their word or promise; eager at receiving, and sure to do no good. They must never go from one town to another, without the governour's leave; which, if they did, he would become their implacable enemy. They must never trust either Moors or Jews with their goods, under three or four sufficient sureties, because they are very apt to break; and when that is done, they have nothing left to pay, having no real estates, besides their houses, and some gardens of very small value: nor must they take up any goods upon credit, or keep any book accounts with them, because they always set down a third or fourth more than they deliver, according to the maxim in vogue amongst them, "That they will never be rich, unless they have something of others amongst their own." What the Jews call other men, are the Christians, Moors, Turks, and Pagans, whom they may cheat or rob with a safe conscience, when they

have an opportunity, provided they give some part of the gain, to raise the fortune of such of their own as are fallen to decay, and to keep their poor from begging: in this particular, their charity is wonderful; for when a man has lost all he had, they will set him up again three times, that he may live of himself; and if fortune still frowns on him, he is maintained amongst the poor; but the wicked ways they find to support them, will convince any man how cautious he ought to be in his dealings with them. When the Jews design to get in what they have entered on their books, they take care to pre-engage the judge, who is generally the governour of the town, making him a present, or else promising him a present, or half the value of the cheat, if the cause goes on their side: and it happened, that several merchants at Tetuan and Sallée, in one thousand seven hundred and twenty, were beggared by trusting to their honesty, and relying on their books. The Moors are something honefter than the Jews; but the safest way is to believe them as sharp and deceitful as the others.

The governours, to gain their prince's favour, often present him with pieces of fine linen and woollen cloth, which they take up of the merchants; and they being frequently recalled, or put to death, and having no real estates, care must be taken to trust them as little as may be, shewing them the worst, when they want any such commodities, that they may take the less, they being generally wretched fellows, who have nothing to subsist on any longer than their favour lasts. The merchants are particularly to avoid growing too familiar with their slaves, both because it is obstructive to their liberty, as causing them to be looked upon as merchants, and richer than they really are; and in regard that if any one happens to make his escape, the merchants are suspected to have advised them to it, and corrupted some Moor to be assisting; and consequently they will make them pay three times

times the price they cost. At the same time, to the end the slaves may not complain that they despise them, on account of their misfortunes, they are to be charitable to, and relieve them in sickness and their other wants (2).

C H A P. VII.

OF GIBRALTAR, MALAGA, AND OTHER NEIGHBOURING TOWNS; THE PLAINS OF MUNDA, ETC.

HAVING again crossed the Straits, we dropped anchor off the old mole in Gibraltar bay, following the coasting pilot's directions: this port is so commodious, and so formed by nature for commanding the passage, from the Mediterranean to the ocean, that it is very natural to imagine a town of great strength stood some where in this bay, from the most early times.

And indeed most authors say so; but they all differ as to the place: some call the present town of Gibraltar the ancient Heraclea; some say the city Calpe stood upon the hill; others write that Heraclea was at Tarifa, while some place Carteia there; others again point to Algezira, some to Conil, to Mellaria, to the banks of the Guadiaro, &c.

However, there are great ruins in the bottom of the bay of Gibraltar, on the banks of the Guadarranque, five miles north west from the glacis of the land port of that garrison; and are to be found no where else of that antiquity discoverable in the ruins; whereas Gibraltar and Algezira have no vestiges but of the Moorish structure.

I have largely wrote upon this subject in the history of Carteia, built by the Phœnician Hercules; the Melec-Cartha, i. e. king of the city of Carteia in Spain: and it being a double town, or

(2) Vid. Journey to Mequinez, in 1720, p. 223—228.

towns, separated by a wall and fort; the lowest town on the banks of the river Mares, was distinguished by the name of Carteia, and the upper one, by Calpe Carteia, being the nearest to the mountain of that name: and again, the fort to the eastward of the upper town, to have been Heraclea: if this is granted, all historians are reconciled. It is very surprising that Mariana and others should take the present town of Gibraltar to have been the ancient Heraclea, when neither Pliny, who resided so long in those parts, nor Me-la, who was born not far from thence at Bæsippo, nor any ancient historian or geographer, makes the least mention of such a city thereabouts, except Strabo, who places it forty stadia from Mons Calpe (1); which agrees with the distance of these ruins at Roccadillo on the Guadaranque: Carteia must undoubtedly have stood there; the many coins which I found among the ruins, having the bust of Hercules, with the lion's skin over his head, with the tunnies, and secispita, and characters; some I saw with a club in reverse, with other Carthaginian coins, and a vast number with the Caput Turritum and Carteia in legible characters, both in obverse and reverse, with Neptune variously represented. The amphitheatre, and other buildings, with the walls of the city, the ancient quay on the Guadaranque, columns, and innumerable fragments of that earthen ware, which Ambrosia Morales treats on, and made of the clay of Saguntum, often mentioned among the Romans, with gems, &c. there found, is, with other particulars, sufficient to convince us that Carteia once occupied the spot of Roccadillo.

This hill changed its name of Mons Calpe, to Gibel Tarif; or, as some Arabian writers have it (says my author, without mentioning them) Jabal Fath, and Jubal Fetoh, which, says he, signifies the mountain of victory (2). Where Mr. Ap Rhys could have got his Mountain of Victory, I know not: but this we may

(1) A stadium was equal to 625 feet.
Spain, &c.

(2) Vid. Udal Ap Rhys's account of

remark,

remark, that as the hill was called by the Ancients, Mons Calpe, so upon the Moors possessing the same hill, they called it after their general; but had there been a town called Heraclea, or Calpe, where Gibraltar town now stands, it would have been called the town of Tarif, or Tharic: but this never happened, it was only the hill that changed its name, and not a town; and indeed the inscriptions in the castle is a proof of that most antient part of Gibraltar to have been built by the Moors in the time of caliph Walid: but Mr. Ap Rhys is pleased to call it Torre del Omenage: this castle will be particularly described by and by.

During my six years stay in Gibraltar, i. e. from the year one thousand seven hundred and forty-nine, to the same month of May one thousand seven hundred and fifty-five, I obtained leave twice to go into the country: I embarked at Water-port in a small coasting xebeck, and sailing round the west side of the hill, we then shaped our course round the south end of Calpe, mentioned by Strabo, in which so many ages have hardly made any alteration, except the divesting it of the timber which once flourished on this remarkable mountain, which must have added to the Romantic beauty of the hill. Having weathered the southern wave-worn Europa point, and keeping close aboard the uneven rocky precipices, whose sides present many spacious caves, the haunt of pigeons, swallows, bats, and other fowl, we then skimmed by the Little bay, the Catalan bay, and at the foot of a vast bed of red sand, which elevates itself under the middle hill guard, where the Spaniards attempted to have surprised the garrison. In the last earthquake that destroyed Lisbon, the sand sunk in its bed many feet, and large pieces of the rock rolled into the sea: we then passed the signal-house, and the Devil's tower, by the Spaniards called the tower of St. Peter, the isthmus, and Spanish lines, shaping our course up the Mediterranean sea, keeping along shore; and after passing the small river Guadiaro, guard-houses, and many towers, we landed at Estapona, a little fishing town on the

the sea beach, with part of an old castle mounted with cannon, on the remains of a much larger pile: perhaps this was the ancient Barbesula; and between this and Marbella, are very great ruins, not unlikely of Cilniana; and Marbella to have been Sal-duba: this Marbella is nine leagues from Estapona, the latter being seven from the Devil's tower (3): it was a town of note, when the Moors were in Spain; the walls are an irregular square, with proper towers, and a citadel; and were, for those times, of great strength, but are now in decay: it is in the kingdom of Granada, and contains four hundred and eighty families, one parish, and two monasteries of friars: a neat half-moon fort commands the beach; the streets are narrow, the houses bad, but the town is plentifully watered. In the neighbourhood of Marbella, is a vintage of excellent wine, infinitely preferable to some palates to that of Malaga, they have their name from the two places, Although Marbella and the citadel were strong, yet it surrendered to Ferdinand and Isabella, in June one thousand four hundred and eighty-five. From Marbella we went to Malaga, eleven leagues by the sea coast, on which stands the castle of Fongerolo, and within three leagues of Malaga; and (not improbable) the spot where Suel stood: from this castle you descend to the plain of Malaga, or rather of Cartama, which village anciently gave name to the plain. Malaga was built by the Phoenicians, and called Mallacca, and now corruptly by the present name: it was a considerable city, and particularly so, when the infidels inhabited it: it is small in compass, but well peopled, seated on the bottom of the plain, which, in fact, reaches up the country to Munda, at about twenty-four miles distance. On a rising ground in this city, commanding the mole, are the remains of two castles, the lowest was called Alcacava, the highest Gebalfaro, or the mountain of Faro, perhaps the king's name who built it: between

(3) Four English miles make a Spanish league.

these two castles runs a line of communication, as its ruins shew; it is a sea port of good trade for wine, almonds, raisins, &c. towards the land, it is encompassed with hills that command the town, on which were many Christians slaughtered by the Moors; on these hills are many orchards and country-houses, as this town laid opportunely for the Moors to receive succours out of Mauritania Tingitana, the passage being but short; for in one thousand and nine, or ten, a Moor named Esdriz, and who called himself king of Ceuta, crossed over from that fortress to Malaga, and took the fort of that city; he carried with him a great many Moors, and did considerable damage in the country, and then returned back to Ceuta (4).

A swarm of these people crossed the Straits in one thousand and one, with Hali governour of Ceuta at their head; they took Cordova, and did a great deal of mischief; but Hali was at last strangled by his own eunuchs in the town of Jahen (5).

Therefore king Ferdinand invested it in the month of April one thousand four hundred and eighty-seven, with twelve thousand horse, and forty thousand foot; and drew a trench round the city, which terminated at the sea on both sides; many skirmishes happened before the trenches were finished, and many brave actions were performed during the siege: but the number of the besieged increased, who got into the city through the works next the sea; and although hunger pinched, yet the Barbary soldiers would hear of no capitulation: at length this city was taken by treachery on the eighteenth of August, for which there was a general rejoicing throughout all Spain; and as it had been a bishopric before the coming of the Moors, in the time of the Goths, the pope granted his bull to restore it to that dignity.

This famous and ancient city and sea port of great trade on the coast of the kingdom of Granada, is the see of a bishop, whose annual revenue is fifty thousand ducats: it is particularly remark-

(4) Turquet's Hist. of Spain.

(5) Idem.

able for its excellent wine, the duties on which, and on their raisins, almonds, figs, lemons, oranges, and other fruit exported, is said to amount to eight hundred thousand ducats annually. The city has a double wall, but of no strength, for many houses are a part of the wall, their windows being broken through the masonry; in most places no ditch, and no out-work before the gates, which are nine, with some towers between: on one side runs the river Guadalmedina, i. e. the water of the capital, over which is a handsome bridge, as well as over another little river on the other side: its territory is most fruitful and rich, its inhabitants above twelve thousand. In the city are four parishes, ten monasteries of men, six of nuns, and six hospitals. They export also a great quantity of wooll, olives, and oil.

Malaga had been in the possession of the Moors seven hundred and seventy-three years, when king Ferdinand, after a bloody siege of three months, retook it in one thousand four hundred and eighty-seven.

Off cape Malaga in one thousand seven hundred and four, the English and Dutch obtained a signal victory over the French fleet commanded by the count de Tholouse: this defeat would have been more complete, had not the English expended most of their ammunition in taking of Gibraltar, and the Dutch sent away part of their squadron to convoy their homeward-bound merchantmen.

The mole is one thousand paces long, the end has a strong half moon battery, near it is a light-house; and at the back and center of the mole is a bastion, with heavy cannon: the mole upon the top will permit three carriages abreast; you descend a flight of steps to another walk, where storehouses are built, and where ships of seventy guns may heave down in the center of the mole. Large brass rings are fixed in the masonry, which is well executed, to moor their ships: at the head of the mole there is about twenty fathom water: it is a noble piece of work, and it has

has cost them a vast sum of money. The two old Moorish castles, quite gone to decay, command the mole. The cathedral is a massy pile, but the aqueduct, when finished, will be a fine piece of architecture; it is to run seven miles.

West, up the country by the river side, is the village Cartama, built by the Phœnicians; and, as has been observed, gave name to the plain: this place I often visited, on account of a temple found under ground, whilst I was in the country. This village is in the direct road to Cohine, where I resided for two months. Cohine is a pleasantly situated town, on a plain, half way up an easy ascending fertile hill, whose base is about four miles in circumference, covered with all manner of fruit trees, and vegetables of all kinds. The hill on the back of the town ascends still higher, covered with trees to the summit, where it extends on a level to the mountains; on the side of one, is a deep cork wood; and on the level, springs a vast body of water, which forms in a river at fifty yards from the source; and after meandering on the plain, waters the whole hill; and is so artfully managed, as to form many cascades from ten to fifty feet: certain it is, that this hill forms a most delightful landscape; and when it contained Mahometans, it was very large; for when king Ferdinand had taken it by assault, in January one thousand four hundred and eighty-five, he was obliged to raze it, because it was too large to be defended, which he had no sooner accomplished, than he attacked Cartama, and took it. This town is at the foot of a rocky hill, near the river side; the back of the hill is perpendicular, on the top is a castle in ruins, which commanded the town, as does another hill, the castle, but of no consequence before the use of cannon: this was a retirement to the Phœnician merchants at Mallacca from their business. There was certainly temples (or a temple) erected at this place: many statues of heathen deities having been found there, which are now to be seen at the corner of some of their streets, blended in the masonry of their building, so stupid have

the inhabitants been. In the subterranean passages were found several Colossean statues, mostly women sitting. From the bottom of their sandals to the knee-pan measured five feet; the marble, of a bastard sparry kind. Several pillars were likewise found here, and many other things to convince us, that an ancient village stood on this spot. Most of the old houses have over their doors the names of their ancient inhabitants, whose memory was left as a donative to the temple; here are several pillars of the same granite, as at Algezira, and the convent square at Gibraltar, and carried there as materials to build with. On this plain of Cartama are the remains of several Roman cause-ways, and particularly near Cohine, where

Fragments of the Roman toil remain,

Slope the steep hill, and lengthen on the plain.

Likewise on the road to Munda, a small village, distant from Cohine four miles, and from Malaga twenty-four, and particularly towards the fastness, where in some places are two cause-ways, the broad one for the troops, the narrow one for the baggage: from Munda to a small village in the mountains called Estan, is a formidable pass, with a strong square tower, that contained four hundred Moors, at a league's distance. The road from Munda to this pass, is very difficult to travel through, after having passed an aged wood of cork trees, which, being left behind, you ascend the steep side of a prodigious mountain, where, on the left, it is almost inaccessible, and, on the right, a precipice, and so continues to Estan, humouring the curvatures of the mountains: and when the traveller imagines himself within half a mile of the village, he is vastly disappointed, when informed that he is not within two miles or upwards: the road all the way being on the sides of these mountains, where you travel three or four hundred yards in a strait line, and then descend the narrow steep path to the foot of the mountain, and then ascend within one
third

third of the summit of another, continuing in this manner till you arrive at the town, and so rugged and straitened, that two people cannot in some places walk abreast, as may be seen in the view of Estan. The road is full as impassable from this town of Estan to Marbella, as from Munda to Estan, which was certainly the rout that Cneius Pompeius took after his defeat. There is indeed another road from Munda to Marbella, and one of these that young general must have gone, though I should imagine the former, as there is no other road, but what is far about, and much out of his way: this is through a small village, between inaccessible hills, on the left of the former road, and at the back of the same mountains; this way winds more than the former, and is much wider on a Roman cause-way: the village is called Jaen, a strong pass, distant two leagues from Munda, and three from Marbella. I often visited Munda, but could get no satisfactory knowledge whether they ever found any shields, helmets, swords, ends of pikes, or other missile weapons: however, a priest assured me, it was the real spot where the dictator vanquished Pompey: there are some people, and likewise authors, who are of opinion, that this is not the ground where that memorable action was fought: but that it was at Ronda, which, say they, was the ancient Munda, and now corruptly called by that name, imagining that the plain does not answer the description given of it: expecting, as I suppose, one as extensive as that of Granada, or Valencia, which is above sixty miles in compass: to this I answer, that the lower plain is large enough for both those armies to engage, especially the legions; for the auxiliaries gave way at the first onset on both sides. It answers exactly to the description given of it, as the distance from Malaga, the agreeable fruitful plain, the small rivulet, the retaining its ancient name, and being situated on a hill, are all applicable to this little sorry village, as father Mariana justly styles it, and not to that of Ronda, which was a strong and almost inaccessible city, with a citadel, seated betwixt craggy mountains,

the greatest part of it encompassed by a river, the rest covered with rocks, distant from Malaga about forty miles ; all which agrees not in the least with any author's description of Munda.

Ronda is situated on a high and steep rock, surrounded by the river Guadiara, with a strong castle : it is walled, and has a deep ditch full of water : the ascent to it is by means of one hundred steps hewn in the rock : it lies six miles from the ancient Arunda, and twenty-two north of Gibraltar. The very situation upon a high rock, and the Guadiara surrounding it, is proof sufficient, that Munda never occupied this spot : besides, I must beg leave to observe, that in the year of Rome five hundred and forty, the Romans, under Cneius Scipio, pursued the Carthaginians from their retirement at Aurigis, supposed to have been Jaen, a town near Cordova ; and within three leagues of it, runs the Guadalquivir, where the Carthaginians were again put to the rout ; and though Scipio had sustained some loss, and was himself run through the thigh with a spear, yet he pursued the enemy in a litter as far as Munda, where the fight was renewed with the same success as before, though not with above half the slaughter, the woods and mountains affording shelter to those that fled : and certain it is, that no place can be more inviting to venture an engagement than on either side of these passes ; for were an army to make a stand near Marbella, or Estapona, the above fastnesses secure a good retreat towards Munda ; or, on the other hand, were an army defeated at Munda, still their retreat would be secured ; for the same woods and mountains that afforded shelter to the Carthaginians that fled, do still offer their friendly aid to the distressed : this the Pompeian army had too fatally rejected, as too sure of victory, their numbers being far superiour, with the advantage of ground ; and their men, not inferiour in point of courage and discipline, would have obtained the victory, had not an unforeseen accident deprived them of it : I say, had the army retreated with their general (Pompey with the small party of horse) as the Carthaginians had

had done heretofore, instead of defending the camp, they might in all probability have been able to have made a second stand at Carteia. I took a view of Munda from the upper plain, where Cæsar encamped the night before the action, but that is burnt: in fact, there are two plains; the upper one, though a little uneven in some places, yet is a level in respect to the country near Munda; the beginning of the plain of Cartama, ending upon the sea coast at Malaga. The plain of Cartama loseth its name for that of Munda, which is small, and sinks from the upper one, but it is as level as a bowling green, and very beautiful: the town stands on the opposite end of the plain, on an eminence of the same height as the upper plain; and on the side of the town is a sugar-loaf hill, crowned with a ruin of a Moorish castle: at the foot of the town is a small rivulet, which in the middle of summer is almost dry, as most rivulets are, whose sources are only the rains collected in the neighbouring mountains: however, as the battle was fought on the seventeenth of March, in the year of Rome seven hundred and nine, in which month great rains often fall in Spain: this was in all probability the cause of the little rivulet overflowing the banks, which it often does: and therefore for the easy communication from the plain to the town, the inhabitants have built a stone bridge, with one large arch to let the sudden torrents pass. There is part of two round towers, with the curtain, still remaining, against which the houses are built. We find in Lucan, that after the battle of Pharsalia, where Pompeius Magnus was by Cæsar overthrown, himself unluckily flying to Egypt contrary to his inclinations, by the advice of Lentulus, was, upon his arrival on the Pharian coast, killed, at the instigation of one Pothinus, a villainous minister to the boy Ptolemy: however, the civil war ended not with the murder of that great man: his two sons, as is very natural, renewed it in Spain, which was divided in factions; many cities sending ambassadors to Scipio, who was then in Afric, at the head of Pompey's party, desiring his protection:

tection: Cneius, the eldest son, in his way to Spain, took the islands of Majorca and Minorca; but was forced, by sickness, to stay some time at Ivica: in the mean while, Annius Scapula drove the proconsul Aulus Tribonius out of all the province, and held it for Cneius Pompeius, till he recovered, and came into Spain, as did his brother Sextus, after being defeated in Afric by Cæsar, and with him came Accius Varro, and Titus Labienus, with the remains of their army and fleet.

“What exploits, says Lucan, will the young Pompeys perform
 “most becoming their illustrious fame. They arm those fierce
 “nations adjoining to Herculean Gades. Spain is a third time
 “the seat of war, and a scene of Roman fury and contention (4).
 “She sends forces to the Pompeys from every quarter: here the
 “fighting Iberians assemble in warlike parade near the Latian
 “eagles and the Roman standards, which Varrus and the fierce
 “Labienus headed: in this spot the rough Cantabrian maintains
 “his ground, whose whole life is spent in the use of arms alone,
 “a people strangers to peace, or a natural death, accustomed by
 “the bloody sword to prevent the weakness of old age. It is an
 “honour, says Lucan, with them, to cut short the thread of life;
 “rich Gaul produces youths skilled in the knowledge of the sacred
 “oracle and the consecrated fire (5).”

The father's fame was known to the remotest corners of Spain, where he acted as pro-consul, and having finished the war against Sertorius and Perpenna, and reduced the rebellious cities, he returned with his army into Italy. Pompey the Great was greatly esteemed in Spain, and no wonder these people sided with his two sons, when they went into that country: who, having assembled beyond the Pyrenees, such of their father's party as had escaped from the battles of Pharsalia and Thapsus, made themselves masters of great part of Spain. The Spaniards who had formerly

(4) Lucan, *Phar.* lib. v.

(5) *Ide.m.*

served under their father, flocked to them from all parts, inso-
much, that they soon saw themselves at the head of a very nume-
rous army, composed partly of Romans, and partly of the natives
of the country.

We may learn, from the advice which Cneius Pompeius re-
ceived from Cato, what estimation the father bore with the na-
tives: "What nation will refuse the sword to the son of Pompey?
" says Cato, what maritime power, quelled by thy father's arms,
" will not supply you with a fleet? so eminent a character, and
" so respectable a name as his, makes you equal in power to your
" enemies. Should you be willing to attempt the eastern recesses
" of the globe, and arm the fierce Spaniards, the Cantabrian,
" with the Iberians united with the Celtæ and the whole race of
" youths from the Herculean Gades even to the lofty Pyrenean
" mountains, and the most remote shores will follow your stan-
" dard (6)."

The Pompeys had experienced officers, and among the rest La-
bienus, who had learned the art of war under Cæsar himself, and
had, on many occasions, given signal proofs both of his courage,
and the wisdom of his conduct. Cæsar had, indeed, after the
conquest of Africa, dispatched first Caius Didius into Spain, to
oppose the progress of the two young generals in that country,
and after him, Q. Fabius Maximus and Q. Padius, two of his
lieutenants, with such a body of troops as he thought sufficient to
keep the Spaniards in awe: but the republican party being fa-
voured by the natives, had gained the ascendancy over them,
made themselves masters of several cities, and obliged the Cæsare-
ans to shut themselves up in their strong-holds: the dictator's pre-
sence was therefore necessary; and accordingly he resolved to go
in person, and put a stop to their further progress.

(6) Vid. Lucan's Supplement.

Cæsar being chosen consul the fourth time, set out from Rome in the first Julian year, and arrived in twenty-four days in the province of Bætica: there he assembled what troops were quartered in that and the neighbouring provinces, and putting himself at their head, marched, without loss of time, towards Corduba, hoping to surprise Sextus, the younger of the two Pompeys, who was then quartered in that city: but he having timely notice of Cæsar's arrival and design, immediately dispatched an express to his brother Cneius, who was then besieging the city of Ulla, acquainting him with the danger that threatened him, and entreating him to break up the siege, and hasten with all his forces to his assistance. Cneius had reduced the place to the last extremity, and was then preparing for a general assault; but the unexpected arrival of the dictator, and the danger in which his brother was, made him drop his enterprize, and fly to Corduba.

Cæsar having, upon his arrival, attempted in vain to draw him to a battle, decamped in the night, and went to invest the city of Ategua, about sixteen miles from Corduba, which the republican party had made their place of arms: thither Cneius followed him, and encamped on some hills, at a small distance from Cæsar's intrenchments, with a design to cut off his communication with the neighbouring country, and by that means oblige him to raise the siege: but the dictator, notwithstanding the many and almost unsurmountable difficulties with which he had to struggle, pursued his point with a constancy and resolution peculiar to himself. The besieged defended themselves with incredible bravery; but being at length reduced to the utmost extremity, the garrison, which consisted mostly of Romans, resolved to cut the throats of all the inhabitants, set fire to the city, and attempt, by a general sally, to force the enemy's lines, and retire to Cneius's camp, which was in sight of the city: the cruel massacre was put in execution; but the garrison, after having attempted in vain to
make

make their way through Cæsar's camp, were driven back into the town with great slaughter.

At length L. Minutius Flaccus, who commanded in the city, and had distinguished himself, during the siege, in a most eminent manner, surrendered the place upon honourable terms, and put Cæsar in possession of the few magazines which the flames had spared: from Ategua, Cæsar marched to Bursavolis, which he surprised, and put great numbers of the inhabitants to the sword, for having cruelly massacred such of their countrymen as had advised them to surrender. After the reduction of these two places, Cæsar marched to find out the enemy, and force them to a general engagement: they were encamped in the neighbourhood of Ucubis, now Lucubi, according to Mariana, in the kingdom of Granada. Cæsar posted himself at a small distance from the enemy's camp, which gave occasion to daily skirmishes, in one of which, Cæsar's cavalry was put to the rout, and defeated with great slaughter: Pompey was so elated with this advantage, that he resolved to put the whole to the issue of a general action: he even wrote to his friends, "That Cæsar had with him only raw and unexperienced soldiers: that he apprehended he would never venture an engagement, so long as he could avoid it, but that he would find means to force him to it." In order to this, he marched towards the city of Hispalis, now Seville, and from thence advanced into the plains of Munda, and encamped there.

Cæsar was no sooner informed of the enemy's motions, than he decamped, and after two days easy march, appeared with his army in the same plain where Pompey was encamped. As the enemy were very impatient to come to an engagement, the very next morning they drew up their army by break of day; but had the precaution to post themselves advantageously on a rising ground, whereof one side was defended by the city of Munda, and the other by a small river, which watered the plain, and by a marsh; so that the enemy could not attack them but in front. Cæsar likewise drew up his troops with great art, and having advanced a

little way from his camp, ordered his troops to halt, expecting the enemy would abandon their advantageous post, and come to meet him: but as they did not stir, Cæsar made as if he intended to fortify himself with that post, which induced the young general, who looked upon this as a sign of fear, to advance into the plain, and attack the enemy before they could secure themselves with any works. Pompey's army was by far the most numerous; for it consisted of thirteen legions, six thousand horse, and an incredible number of auxiliaries, among whom were all the forces of Bocchus king of Mauritania, commanded by his two sons, both youths of great valour and bravery: Cæsar had eighty cohorts, three legions, to wit, the third, the fifth, and the tenth, and a body of eight thousand horse: as the enemy drew near, Cæsar betrayed a great deal of uneasiness and concern, as if he were doubtful of the success, knowing he was to engage men no way inferior in valour and experience to his own, and commanded by officers, who had on many occasions given signal proofs of their bravery and conduct. Cneius, the elder of the two brothers, was generally looked upon as an able commander, and Labienus esteemed scarce inferior to Cæsar himself.

However, the dictator, desirous to put an end to the civil war, either by his own death, or that of his rivals, gave the signal for the battle, and fell upon the enemy with his usual vigour and resolution: at the first onset, which was dreadful, the auxiliaries on both sides betook themselves to flight, leaving the Romans to decide their quarrels by themselves: then the legionaries engaged, with a fury hardly to be expressed: Cæsar's men were encouraged, by the hopes of putting an end to all their labours by this battle, and those of Pompey exerted themselves out of necessity and despair, since most of them expected no quarter, as having been formerly pardoned, when defeated under Afranius and Petreius. Never was victory more obstinately disputed: Cæsar's men, who had been always used to conquer, found themselves so vigourously charged by

by the enemy's legionaries, that they began to give ground; and though they did not turn their backs, yet it was manifest, that shame alone kept them in their ports. All authors agree, that Cæsar had never been in so great danger; and he himself, when he came back to his camp, told his friends, that he had often fought for victory, but this was the first time he had ever fought for his life: thinking himself abandoned by fortune, which had hitherto favoured him, he had some thoughts of stabbing himself with his own sword, and, by a voluntary death, preventing the disgrace of a defeat: but returning soon to himself, and concluding it would be more to his reputation to fall by the enemy's hand at the head of his troops, than in a fit of despair by his own, he dismounted his horse, and snatching a buckler from one of his legionaries, he threw himself, like a man in despair, into the midst of the enemy, crying out to his men, "Are you not ashamed to deliver your general into the hands of boys?" at these words, the soldiers of the tenth legion, animated by the example of their general, fell upon the enemy with fresh vigour, and made a dreadful havock of them: but, in spite of their utmost efforts, Pompey's men still kept their ground, and though greatly fatigued, returned to the charge with equal vigour: then the Cæsareans began to despair of victory, and the dictator, running through the ranks of his disheartened legionaries, had much ado to keep them together. The battle had already lasted from the rising to the setting sun, without any considerable advantage on either side.

At length a mere accident decided the dispute in favour of the dictator: Bogud, a petty king of Mauritania, had joined Cæsar, soon after his arrival in Spain, with some squadrons of Numidian horse; but, in the very beginning of the battle, being terrified at the shouting of the soldiers, intermingled with groans, and the clashing of their arms, he had abandoned his post, and retired, with the auxiliaries under his command, to a rising ground, at a small distance from the enemy's camp: there he continued the

whole day an idle spectator of the battle that was fought in the plain: but towards the evening, partly out of shame, and partly out of compassion for his friend Cæsar, he resolved to fall upon Pompey's camp, and accordingly flew thither with all the forces he had with him. Labienus, apprized of his design, hastened after him, to the defence of the camp; which Cæsar observing, cried out to his legionaries, "Courage, fellow-soldiers! the victory at length is ours; Labienus flies:" this artifice had the desired effect: Cæsar's men, believing that Labienus was truly fled, made a last effort, and charged the wing he commanded so briskly, that after a most obstinate dispute they put them to flight.

Though the enemy's left wing was thus entirely defeated, the right wing, where the elder Pompey commanded, still kept their ground for some time: Pompey, dismounting from his horse, fought on foot like a private man in the first line, till most of his legionaries being killed, he was forced to save himself by flight from falling into the enemy's hands: part of his troops fled back to their camp, and part took shelter in the city of Munda. The camp was immediately attacked, and taken sword in hand; and as for the city, Cæsar, without loss of time, drew a line of circumvallation round it. Such was the ever-memorable battle of Munda, which gave the finishing stroke to the Roman republic, and raised Cæsar to the highest pitch of power and glory, no one daring from this time to dispute his authority. This victory was gained on the sixteenth of the calends of April, i. e. according to our way of counting, on the seventeenth day of March, in the year of the flood two thousand three hundred and eight, which was forty years before Christ, and of Rome seven hundred and eight, when the Dionysial festival, or the Liberalia, were celebrated at Rome; the very day, as Plutarch observes, in which Pompey the Great, four years before, had set out for the war. In this action Pompey lost thirty thousand men; among whom were the famous Labienus, Atticus Varrus, and three thousand Roman knights, seventeen.

seventeen officers of distinction were taken, and all the enemy's eagles and ensigns, together with Pompey's fasces, which he had assumed as governour of Spain. On Cæsar's side only a thousand men were killed, and five hundred wounded (7).

The battle being over, Cæsar, in the first place, completed his lines about Munda, using, instead of earth, the dead bodies of the enemy, which covered the whole plain, and raising them up in heaps, so as to equal the height of the walls: this sight filled Cæsar with horror, who thereupon committed the carrying on of the siege to Fabius Maximus, one of his lieutenants; and, having caused the bodies of Atticus Varrus and Labienus to be honourably interred, abandoned the plain of Munda, and marched towards Corduba, expecting to find there the heads of the contrary party, who had disappeared after the battle: but he was disappointed, for the elder Pompey fled, with a hundred and fifty horse, from the field of battle towards his navy, which lay at Carteia, a city about an hundred and seventy miles distant from Corduba: the inhabitants opened their gates to him; but were no sooner informed of the success of the battle of Munda, than they sent deputies to Cæsar, acquainting him, that they had secured Pompey: but as a good number of the inhabitants still remained in Pompey's interest, the place was divided into two factions, which carried their animosities so far, as to engage each other in the streets, and fill the city with blood and slaughter. In one of these tumultuous actions Pompey himself received several wounds; but having, nevertheless, after a warm dispute, made himself master of one of the gates, he escaped to his fleet, and, hoisting sail, put to sea with thirty gallies: but Didius, who commanded Cæsar's fleet at Gades, upon notice of his weighing anchor, immediately put to sea after him, having at first taken on board a considerable body of horse, as well as foot, in case there should be occasion to pursue.

(7) Plut. in Cæsar. Appian. bell. civil. lib. ii. Auct. comment. de bell. Hisp.

the enemy by land. After four days sail he came up with their gallies, and surprizing them while both the soldiers and mariners were employed ashore in procuring necessary provisions, which they had not had time to take in at Carteia, he burnt several of them, took the rest, and, by that means, cut off the enemy's retreat by sea.

Pompey seeing himself thus unexpectedly deprived of his fleet, endeavoured to save himself by flight across the mountains: but, as he had been dangerously wounded at Carteia in his shoulder and left leg, and, besides, had now the misfortune, as all things seemed to conspire against him, to put his ankle out of joint, which obliged him to be carried in a litter: the enemy's horse, who had been first put on board for that particular service, soon came up with him: upon their approach, the unfortunate Roman, discovering a castle on a steep hill at a small distance, retired thither with the few troops that attended him. The Cæsareans, under the command of Cæsennius Lento, immediately attacked the place, hoping to carry it by assault; but were repulsed by a shower of darts, and pursued, in their retreat, with great slaughter. Hereupon Didius began to seize the castle in a regular manner, and to draw a line of circumvallation round it, which so terrified Pompey's men, that they resolved to quit the place, and abandon their leader, who was not in a condition to follow them, to the mercy of the enemy. Accordingly they made a sally; but were for the most part cut off in their retreat: Pompey retired with the rest, but not being able to keep pace with them, by reason of his wounds, he concealed himself in a cave, where he was betrayed by some of his own soldiers, and delivered up to the Cæsareans, who immediately put him to death. Thus perished the elder Pompey, after having exerted his utmost efforts to revenge the death of his father, and save his country from impending ruin: he had never before commanded in chief; but, nevertheless, in his first essay, as we may call it, performed such wonders, as forced
Cæsar

Cæsar to own, that he had never encountered a more formidable enemy. As for the younger brother, some writers say, that he was not present at the battle of Munda, but remained in Corduba, to defend that important place in case of any misfortune; others write, that he returned to Corduba after the action: however that be, he was no sooner acquainted with the melancholy news of the defeat of his brother, than he divided what money he had among the cavalry who attended him, and giving out, that he was going to meet Cæsar, and treat with him about an accommodation, he left the city, fled in disguise to Celtiberia, and joining the banditti of that country, concealed himself so well, that Cæsar could never discover him (8).

But to return to Cæsar: the battle being over, and the lines about Munda completed, he marched to Corduba, which was defended by a body of troops that had escaped the slaughter, under the command of one Scapula, a zealous republican: upon Cæsar's approach, Scapula armed all the slaves and vagabonds, who were very numerous in that great city; and, leaving the thirteenth legion in the place, marched out at the head of that undisciplined multitude, and possessed himself of a bridge. As Cæsar's army drew near, the rabble insulted them, asking them whither they designed to fly, as if they had been the army defeated: but Cæsar, not thinking it adviseable to force that post, despised their bravadoes, and taking a long compass, passed the river without opposition, and appeared before Corduba: hereupon Scapula, giving all up for lost, retired into the city, and calling together his friends, gave them a sumptuous entertainment, which being ended, he put on his best apparel, distributed what money he had among his attendants, and then ascending a funeral pile, which he had prepared, he ordered one of his catamites to dispatch him, while

(8) Aucl. bell. Hispan. Appian. bell. civil. lib. ii. Vell. Patercul. lib. ii. Suet. in Julio. Dio. lib. XLIV.

another put fire to the pile, which soon reduced the body to ashes.

Upon Scapula's death, the city was divided into two factions: some were for surrendering, others were for standing a siege; but the former prevailing, deputies were sent to Cæsar, who got possession of one of their gates. Hereupon the thirteenth legion, which had been always attached to Pompey, began to set fire to the houses, choosing rather to perish with the city, than fall into the hands of the conquerour. This occasioned a bloody battle between them, and the Cæsareans, in which most of the legionaries, with about twelve thousand of the inhabitants, were killed upon the spot. Cæsar, having thus made himself master of Corduba, at that time the capital of Bætica, marched from thence to Hispalis, now Seville: on his march he was met by Cæfennius, who gave him an account of the tragical end of the elder Pompey, and, at the same time, presented to him the young Roman's head, which, some writers say (9), he exposed to public view, while others tell us, that he caused it to be honourably interred (1).

Lucan says (2), that when this amputated head was presented to Cæsar, he shed a flood of tears over it, and lamented him dead: that Cæfennius, (or Ceonius as he calls him) then addressed Cæsar, enquiring about the fate of the younger Pompey, and thus begins: "When alas! but just now the unfortunate Pompey was
 " an eye-witness to the dreadful slaughter, and dead carcases of
 " his own people, scattered abroad through the fields of Munda,
 " nor was this loss to be recovered, yet carried off precipitately by
 " his foaming steed, he in flight retires to Carteia's shore, that
 " having got possession of a well known harbour, he could spread
 " his canvass to the winds and catch the fleeting gale." But to return from this small digression.

(9) Auct. bell. Hispan. c. vi.
 Lucan. Pharsalia, lib. vi.

(1) Appian. bell. civil. lib. ii.

(2)

As Cæsar drew near to Hispalis, he was met by deputies from the city, who acquainted him with the divisions that reigned in the place, and entreated him to send with them a detachment, and an experienced commander, to keep the adverse party in awe. Cæsar readily complied with their request, and sent them Caninus Rebilus, with some manipuli, who entered the town without opposition: but, in the mean time, Pompey's friends privately dispatched one Philo, a zealous assertor of their party, into Lusitania, where he was well known, to beg assistance of Cæcilius Niger, who still supported Pompey's interest there, at the head of a considerable number of the natives. Philo soon returned with a numerous body of Lusitanians, and, being let into the city in the night, fell unexpectedly on the Cæsareans, and cut them all off to a man. Hereupon Cæsar immediately invested the town; but in drawing the lines of circumvallation, left several open places for the Lusitanians to make their escape, lest despair should prompt them to set fire to the houses, and demolish the walls. At the same time he placed squadrons of horse on all the roads that led from that city, ordering them to conceal themselves till the Lusitanians appeared, and then, falling upon them, gave them no quarter: they held out a long time with great obstinacy and resolution; but at length made a sally, and got safe beyond Cæsar's lines through the passages that had been left open for that purpose: but, while they thought themselves out of danger, they were all on a sudden attacked by the Cæsarean cavalry, and put to the sword, not one of them escaping the general slaughter. Cæsar, having thus recovered Hispalis, marched towards Asta, the inhabitants of which city sent ambassadors to meet him, and deliver him the keys of the town.

Asta, which Pliny honours with the title of Regia, was about sixteen miles distance from Gades, according to Antoninus's itinerary, and situated on the ocean. This city is mentioned by Pomponius Mela, and also by Ptolemy. Martin de Roa is of opinion,

that it stood where the present city of Xeres della Frontera stands; but others pretend to discover its ruins between Xeres and Tribuxena: however, Cæsar at Asta received the melancholy news of the death of Didius his admiral, who had distinguished himself, on all occasions, in a very eminent manner: after he had destroyed Pompey's fleet, he caused his vessels to be hauled on shore to be refitted; and, in the mean time, retired to a neighbouring castle, where he was unexpectedly attacked by a body of Lusitanians, who had escaped from the battle of Munda. The Roman admiral defended the place with great bravery; but the Lusitanians having set fire to his ships, he made a sally, and marched in good order to the sea side, hoping to repulse the enemy, and preserve his navy; while his men were busy in extinguishing the flames, a body of Lusitanians, who had concealed themselves among the bushes, starting up, attacked him in the rear, and cut off his retreat to the castle, while two other numerous bodies fell upon him, the one in flank, the other in front. Didius, thus invested on all sides, behaved with signal bravery, but was, in spite of his utmost efforts, overpowered, and, with most of his men, cut in pieces. Cæsar's concern for the loss of so brave an officer, was in a great measure allayed by the agreeable news he received at the same time of the surrender of Munda, after a long and close siege. When the besieged saw themselves reduced to the utmost extremity, they deserted in great numbers to Cæsar, by whom they were kindly received, and incorporated among his troops: but, before they came over, it was agreed between them, and their friends in the city, that, upon a certain signal, the latter should make a vigorous sally, while the deserters did what execution they could in the camp: this plot being very seasonably discovered the night before it was to be put in execution, the private men were, by Fabius's orders, decimated, and all the officers executed without distinction: soon after the besieged made a sally, with a design to force their way through the enemy's works; but
most

most of them having lost their lives in the attempt, Fabius at length carried the place by assault. From Munda he marched strait to Urfaon, a place equally fortified by art and nature, laid siege to it, and obliged the inhabitants to receive the yoke, after they had for some time defended the place with incredible bravery. And now Cæsar having reduced all the places which had declared for Pompey, and exacted immense contributions from the Spaniards, under pretence of punishing their rebellion, retired to Hispalis, whence, to give new marks of his esteem for Cicero, he wrote a consolatory letter to him on occasion of the death of his beloved daughter Tullia, who died at Rome in childbed, while her husband P. Cornelius Dolabella was attending Cæsar in Spain. This letter, as appears from Cicero's works, was written the day before the calends of May; and, a few days after, Cæsar left Hispalis, and marched, with the best part of his army, to New Carthage, where he was met by deputies from most cities of Spain, with whom he settled the affairs of the two Spanish provinces, and then embarked for Rome, having finished in seven months an expedition, which few generals would have completed in as many years (3).

This account I have taken from the Universal History (4), and chose to give it full, as those scenes lie within our province of Bætica.

It must be remembered, that Varro robbed the temple of Hercules in the island of Gades of all its treasure, though then esteemed one of the most sacred places in the world: and that Julius Cæsar, after he had taken Corduba, sword in hand, put no less than twenty thousand of the citizens to death, that had followed Pompey's faction, which shews in what esteem Pompeius Magnus was: then he gathered vast sums of money; to which

(3) Auct. bell. Hispan. Dio. Vell. Patercul. ibid. Cic. ad Atticum, lib. XIII. epist. XX.

(4) Vol. XIII. B. III. c. XIII. p. 258—267.

effect, he spared not the temple of Hercules, and then returned to Rome, carrying with him a colt, whose hoofs were cloven, which divines said betokened to him the sovereignty of the world: only Cæsar could ride this colt, and when he died he caused a statue to be erected to it, in the temple of Venus (5).

Carteia was the port where the Pompeys had their gallies, in order to cover their retreat, should any disaster happen to them, it was in Gibraltar bay at Rocabillo, on the Guadarranque, and it is needless to say any more upon the subject.

Spain is very pleasant in spring, but excessive warm in summer; was it not for this heat, the climate in this province would be as fine as any in Europe: however, it has not the violent heat of Africa, the damps of Holland, the frosts of Germany and France, nor the stormy winds of England: the rains are seldom in those refreshing showers, but descend in cataracts, and accompanied with severe lightnings and thunders, particularly in the dog days, and the months of October and November.

The climate, however, in general, is temperate, and the soil fruitful; vast quantities of fruit the earth produces of various kinds, and on which the poor peasant feeds almost the year round. I hope it may not be prejudice, but I do not think their fruits so delicious as those of England: the reason is, because they have not the art or industry of our husbandmen and gardeners: the vine is exuberant, their produce generous, and variety almost infinite; for there is hardly a village, but whose vintage varies: here is plenty of corn, wine, oil, and honey: Andalusia boasts the preference to all these.

Here is plenty of cattle, sugar, silks, wooll, vermillion, and vast woods: the sea, which surrounds almost all Spain, produces plenty of fish; however, they are supplied in a great measure from the English, with salt cod from Newfoundland, particularly

(5) Mar. Hist. Spain.

the Portuguese, who were very uneasy when the French took that island in the last war: there are very few rivers, and fewer lakes; the salt fish is therefore very acceptable to the inhabitants, whose religion is of the Roman catholic faith. The inhabitants, from the most early ages, have always been a brave people, but have, like other nations, had various vicissitudes: however, they foiled the Roman glory more than any other people. They are even now a brave nation, and if men of honour may be credited, their soldiers will never quit the field, unless the way is shewn to them: if a Spanish gentleman gives his word, you may rely on him.

They are of a fallow complexion, and in some towns near high mountains, (where the sun in summer is violent, and the frosts in winter severe) of a cadaverous aspect: the peasant is sturdy, and well limbed, their diet plain and simple; they drink much water, and devour fruit. I do not recollect to have seen three Spaniards drunk in the streets, or in the fields, during the nine weeks of two summers I was in that country.

The Spaniards still retain many of the Moorish customs, and are almost as extravagant in their amours: in short, many idle customs and ceremonies prevail among them: the women are, by the generality of husbands, preserved with a very watchful eye, and very seldom feel the sun beams but when they go to mass: they are very fair and delicate; but in general prone to venery: they are rude to strangers, and think all nations greatly their inferiours, and the men are ridiculously fond of boasting of an imaginary pedigree. To such a degree does this folly prevail, as to affect strangers, who may enjoy some post in that government, as, without noble or ancient lineage, they cut but a very indifferent figure among that people who are a century and a half behind all Europe. I have heard a branch from an English stem, to keep in high opinion with the don, trace his pedigree back to king John! but, that which is more ridiculous, is their boasting of having no Moorish blood in their veins. Whoever deals with

a Spaniard, must have great patience; for they are slow in their actions, and very deliberate in their speech, drawing their words from their mouths, as they do their legs from the earth: they sleep in summer from twelve at noon till four in the afternoon, dining a little before twelve; so that their siesta is in the heat of the day: they have a saying, that none but a dog and an Englishman will be seen out in those four hours; which is literally true, for I have been barked at, from one end of a village and town to the other: however this be, I know as an Englishman, that there are too many hours idly spent; for what with religion, siestas, idleness, and pride, industry, husbandry, manufactures, and literature, dose, for want of being put into motion: when they awake at four in the afternoon, and the village again becomes peopled, it is admirable to see their walk, which may be rather termed marching in slow time, and seldom casting their eye upon the earth, as if they despised it. Mr. Howell tells us a merry tale of a Spaniard, who having broke his nose by a fall, rose up in a passion, and in a disdainful manner said, "This is the consequence of walking upon the earth!"

There are old sayings for a complete woman: "Let her be English to the neck, French to the waist, and Dutch below; and for hands and feet, let them be Spanish."

Again: "Let the French woman grace the dance, the Dutch woman the kitchen, the Italian the window, the English the board, and the Spanish lady the bed." This may be; but no nation can boast of having their women so complete in general as the English.

The Spaniard marries his daughter very young; and the women are generally past child-bearing at thirty: they go veiled, and appear so much alike each other in that dress, or disguise, that it is difficult to know a don's lady from a taylor's daughter: they are much freer than is generally conceived; and as for the country wenches, though they have rustic romantic notions of gallantry,

gallantry, yet are easily to be won: in general they are buxom lasses, and two many maritornes are amongst them. In short, there is no travelling, but Cervantes is hourly verified: it is a country well worth seeing, especially to antiquarians, for it abounds with curiosities.

Whoever travels, must carry bedding and kitchen furniture in some degree, or he will fare badly; and this requires a heavy purse. All the inns throughout Spain afford miserable accommodations; and as flies and moschettoes are swarming, the net for the latter is absolutely necessary, or you will have little rest: fleas swarm innumera-ly. As I am not writing a history of Spain, I may be excused from entering into particulars: I shall close this chapter, by observing, that, after remaining six weeks in the country between Malaga and Gibraltar, I returned to my duty in that garrison.

C H A P. VIII.

OF THE SARACENS, SUCCESS OF THE SPANIARDS; GRANADA CONQUERED; EXPULSION OF THE MOORS AND JEWS; AN INSURRECTION OF MOORS IN SPAIN; OF AMERICA; OF COMMERCE.

WE must not forget the rapid progress of the Saracens, from the hejira; it was the six hundred and twenty-second year of Christ, that was usually assigned for that of the hejira, or flight of the impostor Mahomet from Mecca to Medina, whose followers the Saracens (till now a contemptible people of Arabia) were made the instruments, in the hand of providence, for punishing and distressing the eastern empire, from which, by the most rapid conquests, they, in a few years, ravaged not only Egypt, but also all the African coasts of the Mediterranean, quite west to the Straits of Cadiz or Gibraltar (1); where, notwithstanding some successful

(1) Anderson on Commerce, Vol. I. B. III. p. 24.

attempts

attempts of the eastern emperours for recovering the same, their posterity and religion remain to this day: and from this hegira (or as some write it, hejira) or flight of Mahomet, all Mahometan countries to this day begin their computations, and date their writings and transactions. The Saracens took Palestine and Jerusalem, and destroyed the famous library of Alexandria, which took six months time to consume them all: but their first expedition westward, proved unfortunate to them; for having passed through the Straits of Gibraltar, their fleet was totally overthrown and burnt by Bamba, or Wamba, king of Spain: after this, they destroyed Carthage, but preserved Tunis, which is by them held to this day.

About the year six hundred and forty, Omar, son in law to the impostor Mahomet, had conquered from the Greek emperour Heraclius, in about the space of six years, all Mesopotamia, Syria, Palestine, Egypt, and the whole coast of Africa, since named the Barbary coast.

My author, Mr. Anderson, gives us the conquest of Spain by the Moors, or Saracens, with its consequences, in the following manner: in seven hundred and thirteen, the Goths of Spain, says he, being much degenerated from their pristine virtue and valour, their empire there began to decline about the beginning of this century; but that their ruin was accelerated by the wickedness of their king Roderic; for he having in the year seven hundred and twelve, ravished the daughter of count Julian, his governour of the province of Ceuta on the Barbary shore, that count, in revenge, induced the Moors, or Saracens, his neighbours in Barbary, first to undertake the expulsion of the Goths (whom we may now call, says he, Spaniards) out of Africa; and next, under Vitus, their caliph, (or, as they called them in Barbary, miramolin) to attack Roderic in Spain itself, who, notwithstanding his bringing one hundred thousand men into the field, was totally routed, and himself slain, in the year seven hundred and thirteen: whereupon the Moors, (for so we now call them, instead of

of Saracens) in three years time were enabled to conquer all the cities and provinces of Spain, excepting only the mountainous parts of Asturias and Biscay, where the Christians fled for shelter, the Moors not thinking it worth while to follow them: yet, from inaccessible places, they, in time, gradually incroached on their conquerours so far, that, in little more than seven hundred years, they drove the Moors entirely out of Spain. The Moors were in the beginning so prosperous and elated, that they drove the Spanish Goths out of Languedoc in France, then called Septimania; yet they were soon after driven thence, with almost incredible slaughter, by Charles Martel, mayor of the palace of France. The Christians of Spain, might, doubtless, have sooner expelled the Moors, had they kept all their conquests united under one king, instead of their erecting several separate kingdoms thereof, for the grandeur of their younger sons. On the other hand, it must be allowed, that the Moors fell into the very same error; yet as the Christian kingdom of Castile was growing great, by gradually uniting other provinces to it, they conquered one Moorish kingdom after another, those Moorish kingdoms frequently warring against each other, and often in alliance with their Christian neighbouring princes for that end, as did also some of those Christian princes with Moorish ones, with whose children they also sometimes intermarried.

And, about the year seven hundred and ninety, the Christian princes of Navarre began to gain ground on the Moors in Spain, by taking many forts from them, both in Navarre and Arragon.

In eight hundred and thirteen, the monarchy of Morocco was erected, whose head or chief was then named the miramamolin, for it is written both ways.

The Christian princes had by this time, in twelve hundred and thirty-six, in Spain gained considerable ground on the Moors, particularly it is found, that Ferdinand the third, king of Castile, had now conquered the Moorish kingdom of Corduba, the capital

of Andalusia, which the Moors had held two hundred and sixty years: whereupon these vanquished people retreated to Granada, which they erected into a new kingdom, and which was the last held in Spain. Those Christian princes soon after conquered Valencia from the Moors, so that, by the year one thousand two hundred and forty-eight, there was only left to the Moors the said kingdom of Granada, in which, however, that of Murcia was included.

In one thousand two hundred and sixty-one, the Moors finding themselves too weak, called in their brethren of Africa to their aid, whereby they at first took some places in Castile, which, however, were retaken by the Castilians two years afterwards.

King Edward the first (2) had been under engagements to aid his brother in law, Alphonso king of Castile, against the Moors of that country; but being himself also under certain engagements for the holy war, he now gave leave to his subjects to assist him, in this year of one thousand two hundred and seventy-five, and also promised the future assistance of the ships of England and Gascony: and, five years after, he granted leave for that king to build ships and gallies at Bayonne for that end: this shews how little the Spanish Christians then had of any naval force (3).

King Edward the fourth, in one thousand four hundred and seventy-two, granted a licence (though contrary to the statutes of the staple) to his sister Margaret, duchess of Burgundy, to clean and pick fifty sacks (4) of wooll, and to export the same free of all subsidy in whatever ships she could choose, through the Straits of Morocco: by which we learn, that the Straits of Gibraltar, were once of Morocco. Ships, after this, going up the Mediterranean, were said to go through the Straits of Morocco.

I am now come to the year one thousand four hundred and ninety-two, when king Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain over-

(2) Rymer's *Fœdera*, Vol. II. p. 45. (3) Anderson's *Com.* Vol. I. B. III. p. 128. (4) Rymer's *Fœdera*, Vol. XI. p. 735.

turned the Moorish kingdom of Granada, its fatal consequences to Spain, and, in some respects, to all Christendom.

The reader must be acquainted, that the Christian monarchs of Spain had before this time gradually conquered all the Moorish kingdoms of that extensive country, excepting only that of Granada, which, comprehending a large extent of territory next the Mediterranean shore, still maintained its independency: but the whole Christian monarchy of Spain having lately been united by the marriage of Ferdinand king of Arragon to Isabella queen and heiress of Castile, &c. those two monarchs now determined the total expulsion of the Moors from Spain: they at length conquered the kingdom of Granada, the capital city of the same name, however, holding out a tedious siege, after Malaga and other cities had surrendered, and when taken, in the year one thousand four hundred and ninety-two, is said to have still remaining two hundred thousand inhabitants. King Henry the seventh of England, a near ally of those Spanish princes, had Te Deum sung at St. Paul's cathedral in London, on occasion of that conquest, and caused the cardinal of Canterbury to declare to the nobility and people then present, "That Granada was a city of such fame, as to contain one hundred and fifty thousand houses of name, and seventy thousand fighting men:" which account, however, was probably exaggerated, as well as inconsistent. The conquest of this last Mahometan monarchy in Spain, cost king Ferdinand six years time, and when their king Bobadilla was forced to surrender, he is said to have stipulated, "That his people should retain their own laws, liberties, religion, and effects; and that even the Jews amongst them should enjoy the like privileges:" but he himself retired to Barbary, where he remained till his death. His palace in Granada was of a large extent, and its lofty arched state rooms were supported by one hundred columns of alabaster. What still remains of the Moorish edifices in many parts of Spain, is a clear proof that they were an inge-

nious and industrious but voluptuous people. If Ferdinand actually had stipulated with king Bobadilla for liberty of conscience for his Moorish subjects, &c. as probably might be the case : he, as perfidiously, cruelly, and impolitically determined, by the instigation of his bigotted clergy, to drive all those people out of Spain who would not profess themselves to be Christians. Many of the Moors, however, rather than act the hypocrite, went over to the opposite Barbary shore, to Algiers, Tunis, Tripoli, &c. amongst those of their own Mahometan persuasion ; whereby they left large tracts of country in Spain utterly deserted, and which, for want of people, remain deserts to this day ; with the melancholy prospects, almost every where to be seen, of ruined cities, castles, mosques, &c. in lieu of which, Ferdinand the first obtained the title of catholic from the pope, which his successors still retain.

From this settlement of no fewer than seventeen thousand families of the Spanish Moors on the Barbary coasts, may be dated the rise of the piratical states of Barbary, seeing partly from necessity, and partly to be revenged of their mortal foes the Spaniards, they, from this time, fitted out small squadrons of cruising piratical vessels, and at first seized only on all the Spanish ships they could meet with, frequently also landing on the Spanish coasts, and carrying off much booty, and many people, whom they made slaves ; which piratical practices soon became very advantageous to those Moors, after the Spaniards began to bring home the riches of America. This insolence of a parcel of desperate banditti, afterwards provoked the emperor Charles the fifth, which obliged them to call to their aid the famous Turkish pirate Barbarossa, who, with his successes against Spain, made himself master of the government of Algiers, as his brother Haradin afterwards did of Tunis, and another Levantine Turk did of Tripoli : their successes against Spain made them afterwards bold enough to make free with the ships of other Christian nations sailing in the Mediterranean.

Those

Those first Turkish pirates did, in the beginning, put themselves under the protection of the grand signior, who for some time pretended to the superiour sovereignty of all the coast of Barbary; and the chief magistrate of each of those three states, called the dey, whom their soldiery usually elected, was in those times deemed but a basha, or at best but a viceroy of the Ottoman empire: they have since, however, aimed at, and actually obtained (through the assistance of their own military people) a great degree of independency on the porte, more especially at Algiers; though Tunis and Tripoli, as lying nearer to Egypt, has, or lately had, some more deference for the grand signior.

In this same year of one thousand four hundred and ninety-two, it is to be remarked, from Mr. Lewis Roberts's well known map of commerce, that it was near about this time when the English trade to Morocco first commenced, or rather was of any consequence; for some trade was carried on thither by the English, so early as the year one thousand four hundred and thirteen: and although by the wars between Morocco and Fez that trade was smothered, yet that out of this trade to Barbary, sprung the English Levant or Turkey company, though not till queen Elizabeth's reign (5).

In this same year also of one thousand four hundred and ninety-two, king Ferdinand, upon becoming master of Granada, to the further impoverishing and depopulating of Spain, drove the Jews out of that kingdom, as they did the Moors in this very year also.

Manasseh Ben Israel, in his address to Cromwell, the lord protector, printed in the year one thousand six hundred and fifty-five, in behalf of the Jews being re-admitted to live in England, gives the following account of the expulsion of his nation from Spain: he says, "The Jews had lived in Spain from the time of

(5) Anderson on Commerce, B. III. Vol. I. p. 312.

“ the Babylonish and Roman captivities, (i. e. since they were
“ transplanted from Palestine by the emperor Adrian) that they
“ were at this time very rich in houses and goods. We read in
“ the chronicles of Spain, that (at this banishing of the Jews)
“ the lords complained that their cities and towns were destroyed
“ and disinhabited, (his own words) and had they believed (i. e.
“ suspected) any such thing, they would have exposed the king’s
“ decree, and would never have given their consent to it. The
“ catholic king (continues this Jew) was blamed by all Christian
“ princes, and especially by the senate of Venice for having ba-
“ nished a nation so profitable to the public and particular good,
“ without any kind of pretence; and the parliament of Paris did
“ likewise extremely wonder at such a determination. Many of
“ the banished Jews went into Portugal, as being so near adjoin-
“ ing; but there being an alliance concluded between Spain and
“ Portugal, in the year one thousand four hundred and ninety-
“ seven, the Jews, at king Ferdinand’s request, were banished out
“ of Portugal: but this being against the will of Emanuel, king
“ of Portugal, he resolved to oblige them to become Christians,
“ promising (on that condition it is presumed he means) never
“ to molest them either in criminal matters, or in the loss of their
“ goods, and exempted them from many burdens and tributes:
“ but his successors broke through their privileges from a violent
“ zeal against them. King Emanuel, however, did most cruelly
“ order all their children under fourteen years of age to be taken
“ from their parents, in order to be made Christians; many of
“ whose parents, rather than suffer the sight of this, threw their
“ children into wells, others killed themselves: afterwards he com-
“ pelled all the Jews to profess Christianity. Can such violences
“ (continues he) work any good impression on men? or what
“ law, either human or divine, can bear that the souls of men,
“ which the Most High hath created free, should be forced to
“ believe what they believe not, and to love what they hate? This
“ cruelty

"cruelty was censured by many princes and learned men." He concludes by observing, "That most of the banished Jews passed into the Levant, and were embraced by the Ottoman family, (i. e. were tolerated in Turkey;) others settled in Florence, in the pope's territories, and in other parts of Italy, and also in Germany."

The whole number of Jews expelled Spain, in the year one thousand four hundred and ninety-two, was said to have amounted to two hundred thousand families, and reckoning only five to a family, they must have amounted to a million of souls: an immense loss to a country! and when considered jointly with the expulsion of the Moors from that kingdom, it can be no wonder to any to find Spain so thin of people at this day, more especially when the very great number of Spaniards soon after were sent to plant America. The Jews in Spain being very rich, on the first notice of their intended expulsion, found means to convey into the other countries above-named, where they designed to retire, all their money and richest effects: yet numbers of Jews, who loved ease and their native soil with the enjoyment of their riches, better than the freedom of their consciences, were content to be baptised, and to feign a profession of Christianity, and have thereby, in process of time, mixed their blood with most of the great families in Spain. So that the principal end of the court, as well as of the clergy in Spain, viz. the obtaining the immense wealth of the Jews, was by those means very much frustrated, and that country thereby drained of both riches and people to a great degree, never again to return thither.

It is certain, that Spain is not peopled in any proportion to her magnitude; for an English gentleman of family and fortune, who travelled through a great part of Spain in one thousand seven hundred and fifty-three, had a true estimate of the inhabitants given him at Madrid: that their whole number (protestants and Gibraltar

Gibraltar included) did amount to no more than six million seven hundred and eight thousand seven hundred and forty souls! it is therefore obvious, that the aforesaid measures, with the planting of America, is severely felt to this day: neither is the country so well cultivated for want of those industrious men. The Moors (says their historian father Mariana) would grub up wheat out of the very tops of mountains, so industrious were those people!

Mr. Howell relates facetiously an accident which he is pleased to attribute, as a reason for king Ferdinand's expulsion of the Jews: "King Ferdinand had a Jew physician, who was very familiar at his court: it happened, that one day as the prince his son was playing with the Jew doctor, who wore a ball of gold stringed, and hanging down his neck, the little prince snatched away the said ball, and run with it into the next room: the ball being hollow, opened, and within there was painted our Saviour kissing a Jew's tail: hereupon, says Howell, they were all suddenly exterminated." The reader may think of this as he pleases. But to return: King Ferdinand (after his conquest of Granada) and some of his successors, as I have shewn, have been at a vast expence of blood and treasure in conquering several towns on the Barbary shore, some of which, Spain holds at this day, with much trouble and expence, and very little benefit; which will ever be the case, until they can make inland conquests, and fix a permanent land dominion there, and be likewise able to extirpate the pirates of that coast. As the Spaniards have never been able to make any permanent inland conquests in Barbary, so as to have any territory and dominion behind those conquered sea ports, they have ever been obliged to be on the constant watch in those towns, for fear of surprise, or a sudden attack from the Moors on the land side, whereby those conquests have ever been very expensive to Spain, without any solid benefit, any other than what was perhaps their principal motive for making

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ing them originally, viz. for a bride on the Moors driven thither from Spain, and to prevent their future invasion of that kingdom.

In the year one thousand five hundred and sixty-eight, there was an insurrection of the Moors in Granada, which was not suppressed till the year one thousand five hundred and seventy, occasioned by the tyranny and cruelty of the Spaniards towards those unhappy people: for although king Ferdinand and queen Isabella had (as has been related under the year one thousand four hundred and ninety-two) conquered Granada, the last Moorish kingdom of Spain, and had then driven vast numbers of Moors out of Spain, yet there still remained a great number in Granada and Murcia, who, to keep their estates there, outwardly made profession of Christianity, though really, in their hearts, still were Mahometans, notwithstanding their complying to go to mass, &c. The bigotted Romish clergy had, before this time, frequently set on persecutions on that score against those miserable people, and particularly against those of the Albaizin, a quarter in the city of Granada, where great numbers of very rich Moorish merchants inhabited, as did also some of their nobility, and of the blood of their ancient Moorish kings, reckoned to amount to ten thousand men fit for war. In other towns also of the late kingdom of Granada, particularly on the mountainous parts, there were above one hundred thousand families of Moors, most of whom were shepherds and farmers: all these were the descendants of those Moors, to whom king Ferdinand and queen Isabella had, at their conquest of Granada, promised that they and their posterity should remain there with all safety and liberty, without being compelled to change their religion, so long as they observed the laws, and paid the like taxes as other subjects: but that had been long before broke through, after a stout resistance by the Moors of Alpuxarra, who, in the end, were forced to submit to an agreement, "That all the Moors, who would not turn Chris-

“ tians, should depart out of Spain.” These removing to the opposite shores of Barbary, their posterity had to this day retained an implacable hatred against the persecutors of their ancestors. Such as remained in Spain, and conformed outwardly to the established religion of that country, were termed new Christians by the Spaniards; and they had been often grievously harassed by the clergy and the inquisition, and now at length were compelled to send all their children to schools, wherein they were to be taught the Castilian tongue only. They were, moreover, forbid to keep any Arabic books in their houses, the doors whereof were to be kept open on Fridays, Saturdays, and Sundays, that any might enter, and see what they did. They were now also to leave their Moorish dress, and to wear a Spanish one; to leave off the use of baths; to assist at mass on all Sundays, festivals, &c. all which were to be done under severe penalties, wherefore they lived in continual vexation. It can therefore be little wondered at, that the Moors, whose religion, language, garb, and manners, were now no longer to be tolerated, should rebel, as thinking themselves (what in truth they were) in a worse condition than slaves: in their first fury, they murdered all the Spaniards they could find in the country of Alpuxarra, especially the clergy, robbing and burning of churches, &c. They elected a new king, and at first had many followers all along the coast, even as far as Gibraltar. On the mountains near the sea shore, they fortified themselves, in hope of succours from their brethren in Barbary, and from Constantinople, and kept with an army of many thousands: whereupon don John of Austria was brought out of Italy for the suppression of so dangerous an insurrection: but these Moors were neither well armed nor disciplined; bad as their condition was, they were able to seize, and to hold out sundry towns, castles, and forts, and to do incredible mischief wherever they came: they were at length disarmed, when king Philip the second promised, that they should not be molested, provided they would behave peaceably,

peaceably, and that they should remove from their inaccessible castles and precipices in the mountains of Andalusia and Murcia, and settle in level countries, for the same reason that the emperor Trajan had removed the ancient Spaniards, viz. because they were wont frequently to rebel, relying on the like situation.

In short, this intestine war is said to have cost king Philip five millions of crowns, and the lives of thirty thousand Spaniards; on the side of the Moors so great a multitude of all ages and of both sexes was destroyed as is almost incredible. How much wiser and happier had it been for Spain, to have gradually gained over those poor people by gentleness and kindness to their religion and interests, than by blood and violence, which not only naturally tend to increase their obstinacy, and abhorrence of their oppressors, but also to impoverish and depopulate their country: this was the opinion of the famous president De Thou (6), though he lived in a country that very much pursued the like pernicious methods with respect to the French protestants, the best and most industrious part of the people of France (7).

Now, considering every thing that has been said upon this subject, and the discovery of America, Spain's thinness of people is accounted for: as the number of men in a nation is of the last importance, I shall quote a paragraph of the anonymous author of a small folio treatise, in the year one thousand six hundred and eighty-nine, entitled, "The happy future state of England," p. 249. He says, "That Mr. Pepys (once secretary of the admiralty) shewed him a paper, mentioning that the whole number of men in the realm of Spain, taken by a secret survey, some time (as is supposed) before the year one thousand five hundred and eighty-eight, was but one million one hundred and twenty-five thousand three hundred and ninety, exclusive of the regular

(6) Thuani. lib. XLVIII. (7) De Mayerne's General Hist. of Spain, lib. XXIX. Anderson upon Commerce, Vol. I. p. 408. in the year 1568.

“and secular clergy.” Now, says Mr. Anderson (Vol. I. p. 432) in the year one thousand five hundred and eighty-eight, we may here note, that if it be true, as is generally presumed, that all the grown up men of a country are about one fourth part of the whole people, men, women, and children; then, multiplying the said one million one hundred and twenty-five thousand three hundred and ninety, by four, gives us the whole people in the kingdom of Spain about this time, viz. four million five hundred and one thousand five hundred and sixty souls: the smallness of which number, in so extensive a country, is easily to be accounted for, when we duly consider, 1. Their driving out such a vast number of Moors and Jews, and their receiving no foreign supplies in their stead. 2. Their sending out continually such numbers of their own people, for about eighty years preceding, to plant their American dominions: and lastly, the consuming and destructive wars of the emperor Charles the fifth, and of his son king Philip the second, in the Netherlands, Italy, &c. There are even many in our days of opinion, that Spain does not at present (continues this gentleman) contain five millions of souls.

I come now to the year one thousand six hundred and eleven, when king Philip the third of Spain most impolitically expelled all the Moors and Jews, who, through the instigation of his bigotted clergy, committed a most fatal mistake in point of true policy in expelling the most industrious and useful people of his kingdom, viz. the Moors and Jews still left in that country, which also was attended with great cruelty.

It has been mentioned, under the year one thousand four hundred and ninety-two, that a period was then put to the Moorish dominion in Spain: and that vast numbers of both Moors and Jews were then expelled that country, although there still remained great numbers of both those sorts of people in Spain, especially in the province of Castile, Andalusia, and Valencia. A subsequent rebellion of those people, in the year one thousand
five

five hundred and sixty-eight, was not quite suppressed (as has been observed) till two years after that year, wherein also vast numbers of both those people were either expelled, or were obliged to profess the catholic religion, by baptism; and if they afterwards relapsed, they were delivered over to the horrible barbarity of the inquisition: they were therefore stiled new Christians, some of whom became ecclesiastics, and were in high stations; though, it is said, they were all either Mahometans or Jews in their hearts, and that one million two hundred thousand of both those kinds of people still remained in Spain under the disguise of being new Christians. King Philip the second could never be prevailed on to proceed to extremities against those unhappy people, though it had often been proposed by his council; but his son Philip the third, being a much weaker prince, and consequently much led by his clergy, was drawn into this cruelty. These poor people were said to have lately solicited the protection of France, of England, of the Dutch, of the king of Morocco, and of the grand signior, being justly apprehensive that their inveterate foes, the clergy, would sooner or later bring about their destruction. Rumours also had been spread at this time of their intending, on a Good Friday, to butcher all the old Christians: upon such like surmises and pretences, king Philip seized on all their estates, and expelled them his kingdom in the most cruel manner. Priests were dragged from their altars, judges from their benches, husbands from the arms of their wives, and wives from husbands; not sparing even such officers of the crown as were allied to the most ancient Christian families. Many of those miserable people were transported to Barbary; where they joined the race of those before expelled, in their revenge for Spanish cruelties. I cannot help here observing, that, when I was in Barbary, I was informed that many of the Moors, who were expelled from Spain, keep the keys of their houses in that country from whence they were driven, with a belief to repossess the same one time or other; and upon

upon their death, they bequeath them, with their Spanish possessions, to their nearest and dearest kindred. But to return from this short digression. Mezeray says, "That scarce a fourth part
 " of them were able to preserve their wretched lives: for, being
 " looked upon as infidels by the Christians whither they fled,
 " and as Christians amongst the infidels, they encountered cruel-
 " ties and death in various shapes: some were drowned by the
 " very mariners who pretended to transport them; others were
 " massacred by the Moors of Barbary." In Winwood's Memorial, Vol. III. Mr. (afterwards lord) Cottington, the English minister at Madrid, writes to Mr. Trumbull, the English resident at Brussels, "That the Spanish king had made vast preparations
 " for destroying the Moriscoes of the kingdom of Valencia, hav-
 " ing, for that end, assembled eighty-five galleys, twenty ships,
 " and seventy thousand soldiers: at one instant, they seized on all
 " the towns and villages of the kingdom, (Valencia) proclaiming
 " therein, that, within three days, upon pain of death, they
 " should all repair to the sea side, there to be embarked. Many
 " fearing what should afterwards be done to them, attempting to
 " have fled, were immediately executed: the rest (which, they
 " say, will be at least eighty thousand householders) had daily
 " their hands bound, and so put on board. Some say, there is a
 " commission given to put them all on shore in Barbary; and
 " others (which I rather believe) that it is to cast them all into
 " the sea.

" Postscript. I can almost assure you, that they have, and will
 " throw into the sea, of men, women, and children, above three
 " hundred thousand persons: a cruelty never before heard of in
 " any age, says lord Cottington.

" *Tantum religio potuit suadere malorum?*"

In another letter to the same, he says, "That three of the best
 " galleons and three smaller ships were lost in a tempest, all
 " fraught

“fraught with Moors. Our Moriscoes, (or Moors) notwithstanding we have embarked at least eighty thousand of them, are now above twenty thousand strong in the mountains.”

In another: “Our Moors on the mountains, are, through famine, forced to come down: their king is hanged in Valencia, with some few others, and the rest are embarked for Barbary: we now begin to clear Castile, Estremadura, and Andalusia, of Moriscoes also. They are to be gone within thirty days.”

In another: “We here turn out our Moriscoes, without suffering them to carry in specie, or in letters, any kind of gold or silver.”

Voltaire, in the age of Louis the fourteenth, makes the number of those Moors, expelled by king Philip the third, to have been near eight hundred thousand persons: “Though, on the contrary, (says this author, very justly) he ought rather to have invited more to have come into his kingdom, if it be true, that the number of subjects constitutes the wealth and strength of monarchs.”

This, and former expulsions, deprived Spain of vast numbers of her most ingenious and industrious people, who, had they been treated with moderation, might have been gradually brought over to their catholic religion: now, if to these losses of people, are added those great numbers sent for the planting and continually recruiting of their vast American colonies, we cannot be surprised (says Anderson) that there are now, by some accounts, scarce five millions of people in all the kingdom of Spain, though about thrice as large as the island of Great Britain, wherein are about twice that number of people. By the before-named depopulations, and by their bigotry, laziness, and pride, that fine country, from being once one of the most populous, as well as best cultivated in Europe, is become a barren solitude. Mezeray observes, that the Moors in Spain had so far improved the lands, as to make them yield more by one third part to the landlords, than the Spanish tenants.

tenants could do; wherefore when king Philip the third now expelled them, he gave the nobles and gentry one fourth part of the plunder, by way of recompence. The Moors left behind them in Spain very illustrious marks of their long dominion there, seeing most of the eminent cities, castles, and palaces, and also cathedral churches, which formerly were mosques, remaining even to this day, were built by them, who were accounted more ingenious, as well as more industrious in business, than the Spaniards: we thought ourselves, says my author (8), obliged to dwell the longer on this article of the expulsion of the Moors and Jews from Spain, that it might prove an useful memento to us and all wise nations, never to suffer a bigotted clergy to poison court and country with their persecuting principles: a numerous, frugal, and industrious commonalty being the greatest riches, glory, and strength of a well ordered state.

I shall only here observe, that notwithstanding the court and clergy have persecuted these poor miserable people, both Jews and Moors, yet there are many still remaining of those persuasions: some of them I myself have met with. I shall now conclude this chapter, from Clarke's Spanish Nation, in his short view of the commerce and manufactures of Spain,

That their manufactures, says this gentleman (9), are not now more considerable, (i. e. in one thousand seven hundred and sixty-two) is not solely owing to their indolence, and other causes, which he mentions, but likewise to the oppressive spirit of superstition which reigns there, under the mask of religion. This will be evident, says Clarke, from the following extract of a memorial, presented by Emanuel De Lira, first secretary of state to Charles the second, which breathes such a spirit of patriotism and toleration, as to persuade Mr. Clarke, to think it acceptable to the reader.

(8) Anderson on Commerce, Vol. i. p. 481, 482.
Nation, letter xiii. p. 263.

(9) Clarke's Spanish

De Lira having, in his memorial, proposed the establishment of a general company of commerce, in which all foreigners that pleased should be allowed to be sharers, adds:

“ There is only one obstacle on our side, that can prevent the
“ establishment of the company: it is, I confess, great, but nevertheless very easy to be surmounted, especially by your majesty,
“ when you are once informed, that the removing that obstacle
“ would be a means of remedying several abuses introduced among
“ us, and also of preventing the daily profanation of our most
“ sacred mysteries: this obstacle arises from the law established
“ in these kingdoms, and from the decrees and edicts of the holy
“ tribunal of the inquisition, against the Jews, and against
“ heresy.

“ I know, Sir, that it is the greatest glory of Spain, that it is
“ the only nation which keeps itself pure in the faith of the catholic,
“ apostolic, and Roman church, it is this which gives your
“ majesty the just title of catholic majesty, which you so worthily
“ possess: I likewise know, that there is not a more holy nor a
“ more salutary institution than that of the holy tribunal; but I
“ shall endeavour to make it appear, that by granting the liberty
“ of commerce to heretics, and even to Jews, no prejudice could
“ from thence result to Spain, nor to the glorious life of the catholic king, nor to the laws and prerogatives of the inquisition.

“ My reputation is unfulled, and I flatter myself, that no body
“ will suspect me, as to my soundness in the catholic faith: I am
“ evidently a zealous and true catholic, by presuming to propose
“ to your majesty to grant liberty of conscience in these your kingdoms, as such liberty would prevent a great many profanations,
“ that are daily committed.

“ Is it not a truth, Sir, that all the prisons of the inquisition
“ throughout all Spain are filled with Jews and heretics, who
“ have profaned our sacraments, by receiving them as though
“ they had been zealous and devout catholics! is it not likewise a

" truth, that an infinite number of others keep themselves con-
 " cealed among us, and participate of those sacraments unwor-
 " thily, and by way of derision? such a thing never happens in
 " countries where liberty of conscience is allowed to all. The
 " greediness of foreigners after our wealth gets the better of their
 " apprehensions of divine or human punishments.

" We might grant to the nations trading to Cadiz or Seville,
 " or any other place where this company should be established,
 " the free exercise of their religion for them alone, in the same
 " manner as the Dutch, and many protestant states and princes
 " have allowed it to the Roman catholics in their dominions,
 " namely, not an open toleration: thus foreigners, interested in,
 " and members of the company, and their clerks and domestics,
 " would have this advantage, which would render their abode in
 " Spain very agreeable; foreign merchants who traded hither
 " would be satisfied, and we should deliver ourselves from those
 " enemies of our mysteries, who keep themselves concealed among
 " us, and remove them from our temples and our altars; for as
 " it is interest that inspires them with the courage to surmount all
 " apprehensions and dangers, the same interest would draw them
 " to that place, where they might in full security follow their
 " superstitions.

" The example of the church of Rome, for these several ages
 " past, may inform us, that it is not contrary to religion to to-
 " lerate a worship quite opposite to ours; for it has given a syna-
 " gogue to the Jews, and it also allows the Greeks to worship
 " according to their liturgy, without thereby forfeiting the name,
 " or the sovereign title of being the immoveable seat of our re-
 " ligion: this example has been followed by the grand duke of
 " Tuscany at Leghorn, and by several other princes of Chris-
 " tendom.

" The English merchants, notwithstanding their diversity of
 " religion, have the liberty of trading in our ports, since the
 " treaty

“ treaty concluded by the constable of Castile, and the ministers
 “ of James the first, king of Great Britain.

“ Your majesty’s father, of glorious memory, granted the
 “ same thing to the Dutch, and even engaged by the treaty of
 “ Munster, to furnish them with a convenient and honourable
 “ place for a burial ground.

“ Thus the most difficult step is already surmounted: as to
 “ other points, just precautions might easily be taken to prevent
 “ the venom of heresy from infecting the hearts of Spaniards.”

So much for this truly patriotic memorial of Emanuel de Lira: and it is beyond all doubt that there are a vast number of both Jews and Moors still in Spain who pass for Christians, and who serve both in their fleets and armies; for in the field of battle, when the dead were stript, and going to be interred, numbers were observed to have been circumcised.

C H A P. IX.

OF GIBRALTAR, NO ANTIQUITY BUT MOORISH FOUND THERE;
 BESIEGED; THE ARMIES OF MOORS AND SPANIARDS; FLEETS
 OF ENGLAND IN THE MEDITERRANEAN; QUEEN ANNE’S
 DECLARATION OF WAR, ETC.

THE Spanish historians give good ground to believe, there was no town upon the mountain of Gibraltar, till the Moors invaded Spain: besides, if the city of Heraclea had ever been there, where are her ruins? or have there ever been found any coins, except Moorish, or any remains of Phœnician, Carthaginian, or Roman antiquity that might give us the least cause of concurring in the opinion of some authors? indeed the manner in which Mariana describes the Moors taking possession of it, seems to point, that it was not only a city, but likewise a fortress of great strength: and as it was the first place they possessed,

whose advantageous situation rendering it a safe retreat, one would rather conclude that instead of demolishing a port of such importance, so that no traces could be left, they would rather have kept it in repair, that some ancient remains might, at this time, have been traced; for notwithstanding Julia Traducta changed its name to Tarifa, yet Roman coins, common sewers, and other remains are left to satisfy, that a Roman town stood where Tarifa does now. Again, the Moors kept possession of Gibraltar, from the first landing in seven hundred and thirteen, or seven hundred and eleven, as Vertot will have it, till one thousand four hundred and ninety-two, in the month of January, before they were driven entirely out of that country. One would naturally then imagine, if there had been such a city on that mountain as Heraclea, or Calpe, some footsteps of ancient structures would have remained, as well as the Moorish castle built about seven hundred and twelve, and many of their buildings which are dispersed through the different parts of the garrison: therefore, were we to alter that part of Mariana with others, and read, that the Moors first possessed themselves of mount Calpe, and the fort Heraclea, (now the tower of Carthagená close to Carteia at the bottom of the bay) it would in my humble opinion be more agreeable to the situation of the latter place, as it answers better to the description he himself gives us of it: in whose direct words, “Jason the Theſſalian, ſays Mariana, deſiring to gain honour, and enrich himſelf, built a great ſhip, and taking into it Hercules the Theban, Orpheus, Caſtor, and Pollux, with many more, and after pillaging the coaſt of Aſia, came as far as the Straits, where Hercules built a fort, called Heraclea, now Gibraltar, whence they made incuſſions, robbing the country, and had ſeveral encounters with the natives, whence they failed about to Saguntum, and were well received as being all Greeks.” Certainly this ſhews, that they abandoned their fort; for what force could one ſhip leave to hold out againſt an enraged multitude? on the other hand, if the

the greatest part of the crew had been left, how could the remainder have been able to attack Majorca, and take Bocchorus the king of that Balearic isle? and having plundered the island, passed into Italy, where Hercules flew Cacus, and then returned into Greece; so that we find he was not left behind: and what incursions could a handful of men make against an enraged and bold multitude from Calpe, where they were obliged at every fall to pass a barren sandy isthmus of four miles in length, before they could enter a country, where any plunder was to be had? whereas the above tower, (as has been already taken notice of in the foregoing sheets) is most delightfully situated, and from whence they might make little sallies for oxen and sheep, and other cattle along the Guadارانque: for I cannot conceive that they plundered the country of any thing else: and that Hercules being charmed with the situation of the place for beauty, strength, and commerce, returned and fortified Carteia, of which place he was king, (as has been observed) which city has been called Heraclea, as a compliment; or, what is more probable, the fort retained the primitive name Heraclea: I think, therefore, with safety I may conclude, that Heraclea was never at the foot of Calpe, where Gibraltar is now situated, but at the tower of Carthagená near Carteia, about five miles from Mons Calpe. The reader must here observe, that Mariana is speaking of the Grecian Hercules; but Hecateus denies that he ever came into Spain. Be that as it will, Carteia was built many ages before, by Melec-cartha, the Phœnician, Egyptian, Theban, or Tyrian Hercules.

The Moors then took possession of Mons Calpe, at their first coming into Spain; and from them it changed its name to Gebel Tharek; yet it is not exactly known in what time the town of Gibraltar was built: for I cannot find any mention of it before the year one thousand three hundred and nine (1), when the

(1) Mar. Hist. Spain, B. xv. c. iv. p. 243.

Spaniards, who were besieging Algezira, made various expeditions by detachments from before the place; in one of which they became masters of Gibraltar, then of no great consequence (2). The garrison surrendering to king Ferdinand, who went thither for that purpose, the Moors were permitted to go over into Africa, and to carry their goods with them.

Though the town, properly speaking, cannot be traced beyond this period, yet the castle from a Moorish inscription, which I have, proves it was built under Walid, about their first coming into Spain, and which I have inserted in this book.

This fortress remained under the Spanish government till the year one thousand three hundred and thirty-three, when Alboacen the king of Morocco sent his son Abomelic, called the infant Picao (3), into Granada, with seven thousand horse, armed a la Genette, who landed at Algezira, according to agreement with the Moorish king of Granada. Abomelic took upon him the title of king of Algezira and Ronda: but the Spanish governours of Tarifa and Gibraltar gave immediate intelligence to the king Alonzo the eleventh of Castile. Abomelic without loss of time laid siege to Gibraltar in the month of February one thousand three hundred and thirty-three; they closely invested the place, and stormed it with all manner of engines. To relieve the garrison, king Alonzo sent the masters of the military orders of St. James, Calatrava, Alcantara, and the knights of the band, and an army to relieve the garrison, who were in great want; for Vasco Perez (4) the governour, through covetousness, was unprovided with all necessaries: for instead of employing the king's money about the fortifications, and furnishing it with victuals and other necessaries, he laid out those sums in purchases of lands for himself about Xeres.

(2) Mod. Univ. Hist. Vol. xx. B. xix. c. i. p. 260.
Hist. Spain, B. xiv. p. 491. Mari. Hist. Spain.

(3) Vid. Turquet's
(4) Mariana; but Turquet calls him Vasco Perez de Meyra.

King Alonzo could not appear in person, because he was endeavouring, by all possible means, to give contentment to don John Manuel, and other noblemen who had rebelled against him, but it was labour lost: whereupon, hearing that the king of Grenada had laid siege to Castel de Rio, in the territory of Cordua, he immediately marched to that frontier. The garrison of Castel de Rio, under their brave governour Martin Alphonso, behaved so valiantly, being reinforced by a small detachment from Cordua, as obliged the king of Grenada to raise the siege: he went with his Moorish army to Cabra, and laid siege to that town, belonging to the knights of Calatrava, which he took, by the treason of the governour Pero Diaz of Agrayo, and after sending the prisoners to Grenada, he razed the place.

The town of Gibraltar, after suffering great hardships, and being battered, and furiously assaulted for the space of five months, having received no succours from the king of Castile, surrendered upon condition that the garrison and townsmen might march away: but Vasco Perez the governour justly fearing the king's displeasure, went over into Africa.

After the taking of Cabra, don John Nugnes de Prado, master of Calatrava, presented himself in view of the Moorish army, at the head of the troops of Cordua, Eccia, Carmona, Merchena, and some other places, with design to have given battle: but king Mahumet of Granada thought proper to retire. These actions of Mahumet, and the discontent of those nobles just mentioned, prevented Alonzo from relieving Gibraltar: however, when he arrived at Xeres, and understanding that the place was surrendering, he came to a resolution to relieve it, and marched to Seville, after having pacified some mutineers, where he found he was too late to relieve the besieged, having information of its being in the possession of the African Moors: notwithstanding this ill news, he was resolved to attempt the recovery of it, before the Moors could victual and repair it; he immediately led his army before that
fortress.

fortress, but unluckily found the garrison too numerous, which, with its situation, became formidable; for the Moors made often sallies, cutting off a great many brave men, and losing also reciprocally.

The Christian army being greatly oppressed with hunger, the galleys not being able to furnish the camp with victuals, they were under the disagreeable necessity of raising the siege, with a view of soon returning again, which they did (5). Some months after, the king of Granada took the castle of Benamexir, a place belonging to the knights of St. James, defended by Gomes Arios, and then spoiled the territory of Cordua to its very gates, meeting with no resistance, because the army was returned to invest Gibraltar, which they found in a much better situation, and of course a more difficult task for them than before. The Christian army persevered, and used all diligence to batter, mine, and sap, and assaulted it continually.

The Moorish king Abomelic of Algezira, sent to king Mahomet of Granada, to join their forces, and give Alonzo battle, and to raise the siege: Mahomet marched without loss of time, and encamped on the banks of the Guadiaro (6); from whence he informed Abomelic of his being there: he of Algezira immediately marched, and both armies joined and encamped within a league of the Castilian camp, and presented themselves in battle array for three days together: but Alonzo wisely forbearing the hazarding an engagement, persisted in his design of taking the place, being strongly intrenched, and extending a line from the Mediterranean sea to the bay of Gibraltar, prevented thereby the Mahometans from throwing any succour into Gibraltar: but an unfortunate tumult being raised in Castile, the king was obliged to desist from his enterprize upon that garrison; which shews that he must have been master of the seas, otherwise he could not

(5) Turquet's Hist. Spain.

(6) i. e. The river of Housas.

have gained intelligence of the tumult raised in Castile, which obliged the king to desist from his enterprize upon Gibraltar, and to conclude a truce with the Moors for four years: the king of Granada remained vassal to him of Castile, paying a tribute of twelve thousand doubloons; and the town of Gibraltar was to remain in the possession of Abomelic, who joined it to his royal titles.

However, as there is some variation and particulars mentioned in the Modern Universal History (7), the reader may not be displeased to peruse it: it says, that the king of Granada made a voyage to Africa, in order to demand assistance from Abul Affan, king of Morocco, under pretence that don Alonzo of Castile had nothing so much at heart as the utter extirpation of the Moham-medans in Spain; and having obtained from him the promise of powerful succours, and a present supply of seven thousand horse, he returned very well satisfied into his own dominions, where he no sooner arrived, than he renewed his intrigues with don Juan Emanuel. He had engaged don Juan Nugnez de Lara, and several other persons of great distinction, in a confederacy; and it was agreed that they would be all ready to act at a convenient time (8).

The reinforcement from Africa arrived on board a fleet of transports from Morocco at Algezira, under the command of Abul Malic, the son of Abul Affan; the Christian fleet under the command of don Alonzo Tenorio, having put to sea with an intention to hinder them from debarking, but came too late. The first service the African troops performed, was besieging Gibraltar, in which commanded don Vasco Perez de Meyra. Don Alonzo of Castile, upon advice of this siege, assembled a powerful army in order to relieve it, and in his march had a conference with don Juan Emanuel and don Juan Lara, who pretended an

(7) Vol. xx. B. xix. c. i. p. 280.

(8) Chron. del Rey don Alonzo el Ouzeno. Chronica de los Mores de Espana.

inclination to submit themselves, and invited the king to dine with them in their castle of Recerril, which he accepted, and they promised to dine with them the next day, but either through fear or falshood, they broke their words, and the treaty came to nothing (9). Not long after this, don Juan Emanuel sent the king word, that if he would order his arrears to be paid, he would make a powerful diversion through the kingdom of Jaen, and prevent the kingdom of Granada from joining Abul Malic. Don Alonzo, like a great prince, complied with his demand: don Juan Emanuel behaved also like himself, that is, he took the money, and broke his word (1). The king, however, marched to the relief of Gibraltar, but when he was within sight of the place, he was informed that the governour had betrayed it.

Don Alonzo continued to advance, invested the place and besieged it, but for want of provisions was forced to raise the siege; however, a supply arriving just as the army broke up, the king returned thither again. The king of Granada, having joined Abul Malic, marched with a numerous army to raise the siege. Don Alonzo, as became a prudent officer, remained within his intrenchments, and could not be drawn out to fight. All his caution, however, proved ineffectual; for don Juan Emanuel, don Juan de Lara, and don Juan Alonzo de Hara, with the very money that the king had given, had raised forces, and ravaged Castile in such a manner, that the king was obliged to conclude a truce with the Moors, and to march to the relief of his subjects; another motive which determined him to this measure, was the intelligence he had received, that several lords in the kingdom of Jaen were on the point of joining the Moors, for which he caused one of their heads to be struck off, when he arrived in those parts; but the rest executed their purpose, and fled to Granada. The

(9) Chron. del Rey don Alonzo el Ouzena. Rod. Santii Hist Spain, part iv. Ferreras. (1) Chron. var. Antiq.

king's affairs, however, were in so perplexed a situation, that the king of Morocco, refusing to ratify the truce, unless the tribute of the king of Granada was remitted, he was obliged to comply, his subjects of Castile being so much distressed by the rebels, that they dispatched express upon express to hasten the king's march to their assistance, which, without doubt, afflicted him extremely, after all the pains he had taken to recover these noblemen to his service (2).

This place remained in the possession of the Mahometan power until one thousand three hundred and forty-nine or fifty (3), according to different authors, when don Alonzo taking the advantage of the tumult and great confusion that arose in Africa between father and son, came to a resolution to raise an army, and lay siege to Gibraltar: a subsidy was accordingly granted for the undertaking; as they were determined not to let slip so favourable an opportunity, as succours could not well come from Barbary, because Alboacen the son of Alboacen had rebelled against his father, and was in possession of the kingdom of Fez in Africa, and Gibraltar in Spain.

Alonzo was first in arms, pretending he had not broke the former truce, seeing that this place and others in Spain were held by Alboacen, with whom he had not any treaty; and great, says Mariana, were the preparations to reduce this important garrison. For the management and conduct of this war, says Turquet, which was of no small consequence, the king assembled the general estates of all his realms in the town of Alcala de Henares, where (besides the noblemen and deputies accustomed to come in former assemblies) many towns and commonalties were newly called, and received to give their voices, and to take a place in such assemblies. This assembly at Alcala de Henares being

(2) Chron. de los Moros de Espana. Chron. del Rey don Alonzo el Ouzeno. Rod. Santii Hist. Hispan. Chron. General de Espana. (3) Faria y Sufa. Mariana, and Turquet's Histories of Spain.

dissolved, and the king having gathered together great store of treasure, by the speedy obedience of his subjects, he applied his mind wholly to the intended siege of Gibraltar, and to provide all things necessary both for sea and land, seeing that the time and the opportunity of the seditious Moors in Africa united him.

The Christian army being assembled, marched into Andalusia, and laid siege to Gibraltar: the town had been greatly fortified by the Moors, since the year one thousand three hundred and thirty-three, so that the enterprize was no less difficult than that of Algezira: but there was this advantage, they did not fear any succours from Africa, as if the Arabian Moors had been quiet: notwithstanding, the king, to provide for all events, sent Velasco Martinez, alcaide or provost of the court, to the king of Arragon in embassy, and with him Alphonso Gonçales of Gallejo, to confirm the alliance and friendship betwixt them, and to revive the treaty of marriage betwixt his son don Henry and one of the infantas of Arragon; but his chief design was to require ten galleys to command and keep the Straits of Gebel Tharek, or Tarif. The king don Pedro of Arragon answered the ambassadours, that he would send an ambassadour expressly to the king of Castile, their master, and which he did. King don Alphonso was already before the place when the ambassadour arrived from Arragon: don Pedro sent four of his galleys to join them that were in the Straits, whereof Raymond of Villanova was captain, being manned with four hundred cross-bow men. The Christian army cast up prodigious works about the town, and applied all sorts of engines, with which they were as well defended: the town being well provided, strongly fortified, and had a good garrison, which consisted of the best soldiers among the Moors, who made many sallies upon the Christians, in which were slain their best men on both sides.

When the king invested Gibraltar, all the country about it was laid waste; delightful groves, orchards, and gardens, were demolished; and many houses of pleasure were burnt down, which stood

stood in the neighbourhood of that city; for the Moors in Spain were great husbandmen. The barren mountains were cultivated to the top (4), so industrious were those people! therefore we ought not to be surprised to find this sandy isthmus once so delightfully decorated; for what cannot vigilance subdue? consider the Moors lived unmolested in this part of Andalusia five hundred and ninety-six years; and to the time I am now speaking of, six hundred and thirty-six, from their first possessing Mons Calpe: it is therefore but reasonable to conclude, considering how industrious they were, that they took all methods to render this barren isthmus arable, and pleasant to the neighbouring inhabitants of Gebel Tarif. To convince us of this, there were many gardens and orangeries, when the English took Gibraltar in one thousand seven hundred and four, which was two hundred and forty-two years after the Spaniards had possessed it. I have traced several reservoirs, wells, and pieces of old walls in these sands to strengthen the above history of Mariana.

While the Castilians pressed the siege, king Alonzo's camp was much annoyed by the troops of the neighbouring garrisons, and by the king of Granada's squadrons of horse: however, though the walls were furiously battered, the siege lasted many months, because the town was well provided in every respect; yet the garrison abated of their heat, seeing no hopes of succour, though they still held out: but must have fell to the persevering arms of the Castilian army, had not a violent plague introduced itself into the Christian camp, raging vehemently from tent to tent, of which great numbers died. Most men therefore were for raising the siege, which somewhat moved the king; yet (unfortunately for him) his resolution prevailed; the infection having seized him, of which he died, on the twenty-sixth of March one thousand three hundred and fifty, in the thirty-ninth year of his

(4) Mariana.

age; though some have written, says Turquet, that he died not of the plague, but of poison given him of some Moors; but we must adhere to the former account, which was the end of that great king Alonzo the eleventh; and, it is thought, says Mariana, that had he lived longer, he would have drove the Moors out of the kingdom of Spain.

During the siege, which lasted a whole year, the fleet of Alonzo, with the four Arragonefe gallies (5), effectually prevented succours from being thrown in by sea; and the king of Granada was afraid to attempt any thing openly, though he might have harassed Alonzo's camp with some flying squadrons of horse: but the confusions in Morocco prevented that monarch from being able to do any thing for its relief: so that every thing went on well with Alonzo, after he had invested the place, and dug that deep and large trench before it on the isthmus, and which is still visible, in front of the present Spanish lines. Besides, there was a very material thing, which would have induced the garrison to have capitulated, which was their being in want of provisions, as well as the fortifications being in a manner ruined from the furious battering they had sustained, just at the time when the plague raged with so much violence (6). When Alonzo was pressed in vain by the infant (of Arragon) don Ferdinand, his nephew don Juan Nugnez de Lara, who was always near his person, don Ferdinand Emanuel, and other great lords, either to raise the siege, or at least to retire himself; he observed to them, that Gibraltar had been lost during his minority; that he was under a kind of obligation to recover it to his country, and that the plague might reach him in his court as well as in the camp. It may be, he had not considered, that though this enterprize had been very maturely concerted, and executed with great circum-

(5) Zurit. Annal. Arragon. Rod. Santii Hist. Hispan. part iv. Alonzo Morjado. Chron. de los Moros de Espana. (6) Chron. var. Antiq. Chron. de los Moros de Espana. Ferreras.

spection;

spection; yet it was a direct violation of the law of God, and of nature; and that, therefore, notwithstanding these favourable appearances, he had not reason to flatter himself with success. However it was, the plague seized him, as I have already observed, at that critical juncture, and of it he died on Good Friday, March the twenty-sixth, exceedingly regretted by the army, and by all his subjects (7). His nephew the infant don Ferdinand, don Juan Nugnez de Lara, don Ferdinand Emanuel, and some other noblemen, attended the king's body when it was removed from the camp; and the Moors in Gibraltar shewed, upon this occasion, a politeness that ought to have covered their enemies with confusion: they suspended hostilities that whole day, and refused to take advantage of that sorrow and confusion which reigned through the Christian camp. The king's body was carried first to Seville, and deposited in the royal chapel till it could be removed to Cordova, where, by his last testament, he desired to be buried with his father (8). The peace and glory of his country expired with don Alonzo; and though the siege of Gibraltar was carried on after his death, till orders could be received from court, (from don Pedro the Cruel who succeeded Alonzo) yet it was raised, though the place might have been easily taken (9).

About the year one thousand four hundred and twenty-seven, reigned Mohammed, called the Little, who was the fifteenth Moorish king of Granada. This king entering by tyranny, having dethroned Mohammed the Left-handed, and who for safety had retired into Africa, thought that rigour and cruelty were the best means to maintain him in his estate, as commonly tyrants do; wherefore he began to persecute the officers, friends, and partisans of his predecessor (whom he had expelled) by imprisonments, banishments, confiscations, and cruel deaths; many

(7) Rod. Santii Hist. Hispan. part iv. Chron. Gen. de Espana. Mariana. Turquet. Ferreras.
 (8) Rod. Santii Hist. Hispan. part iv. Ferreras.
 Mayerne. Turquet. (9) Chron. Gen. de Espana. Ferreras.

were ruined, and many also escaped, amongst which was the alguazil Joseph Aben Sarrax, who fled to Lorca, a town in the realm of Murcia, submitting himself to the mercy of the king of Castile, and of the governour of Lorca, who was Lope Alonzo of Lorca, who afterwards led him to court, and presented him to the king don John at Illesca, a town belonging to the archbishop of Toledo, seated betwixt Madrid and Toledo. The king gave good entertainment to this Moor, from whom he understood the resolutions of Granada, Lope Alonzo being interpreter betwixt them. The king being entreated by Joseph Aben Sarrax, to aid his master to recover his realm, he yielded to it, and having given him many presents, and shewed him all favour, he sent him with Lope Alonzo in embassy to Tunis, to let the king Mahumet understand how much he desired to do him good, and to exhort him of Tunis, to aid and favour his guest. The business succeeded so well, as Mahumet Aben Azar receiving money, and all other kind of aid from the king of Tunis, he passed from Tunis to Oran, and then crossing the sea, he came and landed at Granada, whose coming being divulged through the country, the towns thereabouts, even that of Almeria, opened their gates to him. Mahumet the Little, who held the realm, resolved to make head against him, thinking that his forces were yet but weak, sending about eight hundred horse and some foot before to encounter him, most of which joined with Mahumet Aben Azar, who pursuing his good fortune, entered with the like facility into Guadix, and he was even received into the city of Granada, so as Mahumet the Little, his competitor, was forced to shut and fortify himself in the Alhambra of Granada, where he was presently besieged, Aben Azar lodging his camp at a place called Alcabicar, near to the fort of Alhambra: to whose obedience presently yielded the towns of Malaga, Gibraltar, Ronda, and in the end the whole realm: wherefore Mahumet the Little, being hated and abandoned of all men, and fainting, he was forced
and

and taken in the castle of Alhambra, with his children, where he ended his days miserably, and his children were kept prisoners. Thus Mohammed Aben Azar recovered the realm two years after he had been expelled, in the year one thousand four hundred and twenty-nine, by which may be seen, that Gibraltar was under the king of Granada.

It fell out unfortunately for don Henry de Guzman, during the siege, which he pretended to lay to Gibraltar in the year one thousand four hundred and thirty-five: for being come by sea with some barks before the town, where his son John of Guzman should come by land with the rest of his forces to besiege it, he had no patience to attend, but landed and began to skirmish on the shore near the walls with the Moors, who sallied out against him; but the sea flowing, it forced him to retire to his bark, leaving many of his knights on land a prey to the enemy, who began to cry out and complain that he had left them there for slaughter, with such vehement words, as moved pity: he therefore caused his bark to approach to land to receive them: but it was so over-laden that it sunk, and there the earl don Henry, with about forty knights, were drowned; whose loss was great: the bodies being cast upon the shore, were drawn to land by the Moors, and the earl was put into a coffin. By this ill success, the son retired from Gibraltar, and out of all Andalusia, with tears and mourning. The bones of this earl were kept in a most ancient tower made of brick, in the highest part of the castle of Gibraltar, which the common people believe was built and erected by Hercules.

In one thousand four hundred and fifty-five, king Henry the fourth of Castile, had a strong inclination to visit all the sea coasts as far as Gibraltar, which he accordingly did, under the protection of a proper escorte. There, having a sight of the opposite continent of Africa, upon the invitation of the governour of Ceuta, he took a resolution of going thither, and that in a

small vessel, and with a few persons, which alarmed the principal persons about him exceedingly. The king persisting in his own scheme, traversed the Strait of Gibraltar, and, after a few days amusement at Ceuta, where the governour omitted nothing that could give him pleasure, he returned safely, though not without some difficulty and danger, to Tarifa (1).

Gibraltar remained in the power of the Moors till the year one thousand four hundred and sixty-two (2), while don Juan the second of that name, and eighteenth king of Arragon, succeeded well in Catalonia. The king don Henry the fourth of that name, and nineteenth king of Castile, and fourteenth of Leon, made open war upon the frontiers of Granada, on a defeat given to the infant Haly Muley Hacen, wherein don John de Guzman the first duke of Medina Sidonia, son to count Henry de Niebla, who was drowned before Gibraltar, made excellent proof of his valour and good conduct, and had also the good fortune to subject Gibraltar to the crown of Castile, which his father had attempted in vain. The news of this conquest was so pleasing to king Henry, as, amongst his other titles, he would be called king of Gibraltar: for this city had been the chief in the kingdom of Abomelic, the infant of Morocco, son to king Alboacen of the kindred of the Merins. The keeping this important place was committed for that time to Pedro de Porras.

The recovery of this important fortress was so much the more acceptable, as it was altogether singular and unexpected, since these were times in which it was infinitely more probable that the Christians should lose than that they should gain any thing from the Mohammedans (3). It happened in this manner: there dwelt in the town of Gibraltar, a Moor, whose name was Ali el Zurro, who was desirous of becoming a Christian. With this view he

(1) Mod. Univ. Hist. Vol. xx. B. xix. c. i. p. 394, 395. (2) Mar. Hist. Spain, B. xxiii. c. ii. p. 404. Also Turquet. Faria y Sosa, &c.
(3) Mariana, Mayerne, Turquet, Ferretas;

retired to Tarifa, and disclosed his sentiments in that respect to Alonzo d'Arcos, who was then alcaide, and who, approving his design, caused him to be baptized by the name of Diego Zurro. He then told him that it would be no difficult matter for the Christians to recover the place from which he came, since, upon the breaking out of a civil war at Granada, the whole garrison was marched thither to support one of the competitors to the crown. Don Alonzo was too well acquainted with the Moors to give hasty credit to such a piece of intelligence; he sent therefore a detachment of eighty horse and a hundred and fifty foot, with orders to seize some of the inhabitants, which they executed, and from them he understood, that Diego had told him no more than the truth: upon this he assembled some troops belonging to the count d'Arcos, the duke de Medina Sidonia, and of the governours of the adjacent places, with which he invested Gibraltar very unexpectedly. The inhabitants, however, made a very gallant defence, insomuch, that many were inclined to raise the siege; but Diego Zurro exerted himself in such a manner, and solicited with such vehemence, that they remained before the place. They were daily joined by fresh troops; and don Rodrigo, the son of count d'Arcos, actually possessed himself of a great part of the town, and might have had the rest by capitulation, if the duke de Medina Sidonia had not sent to desire that he might have a share in the glory. He arrived accordingly with his forces, and the very same night entered into a private treaty with the Moors, who delivered up the place to him the next day. This sinister behaviour produced a feud between the families of Medina Sidonia and Arcos, which lasted many years, and cost a great deal of blood (4). The king was no sooner acquainted with this unexpected piece of good fortune, than he named don Pedro de Porras governour of the place, and ordered the duke de Medina Sidonia to put it into

(4) Chron. del Rey don Henrique IV. de Alonzo de Palencia.

his hands under the severest penalties, which he immediately obeyed. And, as I have already said, as a further proof of his satisfaction, he ordered the title of king of Gibraltar to be added to his titles; following therein the example of Abul Malic, a Moorish monarch, who had done the same thing long before (5).

In the following year of one thousand four hundred and sixty-three, king Henry of Castile made a journey to Gibraltar, where he gave a proof of a mind little favouring of equity: for he took away the government from Pedro de Porras, whom he had placed there, as I have just said, and appropriated it to don Bertrand de la Cueva, earl of Ledesma, who placed there for governour Stephano de Villacreces, who was married to an aunt of his: this the duke of Medina took very impatiently, and so it continued all the time of the troubles of the kingdom, until he had brought it again under his own power and jurisdiction, joined it to the other possessions belonging to the house of Medina Sidonia, and who always enjoyed it, till the entire conquest of the kingdom of Granada: at which time it was for ever annexed to the crown; for it was reunited, says Turquet, to the crown of Ferdinand and Isabella, in one thousand five hundred and one. Their majesties, no doubt, gave a proper equivalency to the duke de Medina Sidonia, by whose ancestor it was retaken, and annexed it to the crown (6).

However, the duke of Medina Sidonia had this town given him, and it was inserted among his royal titles; but king Ferdinand took it away, which obliged don John de Guzman, in one thousand five hundred and six, to send his son Henry with forces to besiege it: but the governour defended that place well, and a relief being sent by the earl of Tendilla, and the councils of some cities, the siege was raised. It was about fourteen years before this last siege, when the Moors were driven out of the whole kingdom: and as the improvement of artillery increased daily, the

(5) *Historia Gen. de Espana*, per Mariana, lib. xxii.

(6) Pulgar.

Spaniards,

Spaniards, as well as all other European nations, were obliged to alter their method of fortification: this town, among the rest, shared the same change, though inconsiderable, till the reign of Charles the fifth, when it was put into a tolerable state of defence by his engineer Daniel Speckle, who was architect (7) in the city of Strasburgh, and died in one thousand five hundred and eighty-nine. He published a treatise on fortification in Germany, which was reprinted at Leipzig in one thousand seven hundred and thirty-six.

In one thousand five hundred and forty, Piali Hamet, one of Barbarossa's captains, landed with a strong detachment in the neighbourhood of Gibraltar, surprised the place, and made the principal inhabitants prisoners, with whom, and the pillage of the city, he embarked: but being met by don Bernardin Mendoza with fourteen gallies from Sicily, the corsairs were all either killed or taken, and the prisoners and city recovered (8).

The Dutch admiral Heemskirk in one thousand six hundred and seven (9), sailing in quest of the Caracca fleet, received information that a Spanish Squadron of six men of war was in the bay of Gibraltar, and made dispositions for attacking the enemy; Juan Alvares d'Avila, commanded the Spanish fleet: he was attacked by Heemskirk with the utmost resolution, and the engagement continued with great fury, until the Dutch admiral lost his arm by a cannon ball. The death of so brave an officer caused some confusion in the fleet; but the spirits of the Dutchmen were soon roused, by the gallant conduct of Verhoef, who succeeded to the command. After an obstinate fight, d'Avila was killed, his ship run aground, and burnt by the garrison of Gibraltar, to prevent his being taken: the rest of the Spanish fleet was burnt, sunk, or destroyed, and the victory indisputably in favour of the

(7) Robin's preface on the force of powder, p. 7. (8) Mod. Univ. Hist. Vol. XXI. B. XIX. c. i. p. 253. (9) Idem, Vol. XXXI. p. 201. n. (A).

Hollanders, though they received no other benefit from it, than the destruction of the Spanish armament (1).

The Spaniards regarded this fortress as a pillar to their nation, being sensible that whenever it should be wrenched from them, it would be a difficult task to regain a place almost impregnable by nature, which they have woefully experienced.

I shall now fill up with such occurrences between the year one thousand six hundred and seven, to one thousand seven hundred and four, when Gibraltar was taken by the English, as events may present themselves, relative to the shores of the Straits: and in this same year of one thousand six hundred and twenty, the pirates of the Barbary shores having greatly disturbed the commerce of England with Spain, Italy, and Turkey, king James's commission was given to Sir Robert Mansell, vice admiral of England, to sail with certain ships of that king's, jointly with other ships of his subjects, to attack and destroy the pirates in the Mediterranean sea (2).

In the year one thousand six hundred and twenty-one, a British fleet passed through the Straits of Gibraltar: Spain, not being able of herself to crush the Algerines, who, at this time, were formidable in shipping, and greatly infested the Spanish coasts, after four different expeditions against that city, count Gondemar, ambassador from Spain to king James, found means to cajole him into an undertaking for that purpose, having before gained the lord admiral (the earl of Nottingham) and next the duke of Buckingham, his successor: they flattered that king with the mighty glory of such a conquest, and the benefit which the taking of that piratical place would bring to the commerce of England. Sir Robert Mansell was therefore sent out with four ships of forty cannon each; one of thirty-six, one of thirty-four, one of twenty, and

(1) Meteren. lib. xxviii. Le Clerc, lib. viii. p. 248.
Vol. xvii. p. 245. Anderson on Commerce.

(2) Fœdera,

one of eighteen, all brass cannon (says Sir William Monson, in his Naval Tracts) the biggest ships being of six hundred tons, and the smallest of one hundred and sixty tons, manned with fifteen hundred men, besides twelve armed merchant ships, carrying in all two hundred and forty-three cannon, and one thousand one hundred and seventy men, viz. three of each three hundred tons, two of two hundred and eighty tons, two of two hundred and sixty, two of two hundred, one of one hundred and eighty, one of one hundred and thirty, and one of one hundred tons, from twelve to twenty-six guns, and from fifty to one hundred and twenty men per ship.

A slender armament for so great an undertaking, which also was badly executed: it seems they feasted and banquetted in the harbour, instead of scouring the seas; whereby (says Monson) they lost the opportunity of destroying the pirates: they however attempted to burn the Algerine ships in the mole there; but it proved impracticable: and Mr. Burchet, in his Naval history, observes, that, in return for the civility of our said visit, our admiral's back was scarcely turned, but those corsairs picked up near forty good ships of ours, and infested the Spanish coasts with greater fury than ever: "wherefore, adds Sir William Monson, "if those Christian countries which lie opposite to Algiers, (viz. "France and Spain) could never prevail in their sundry attempts "against it, although in their neighbourhood, and their having "the conveniency to embark and transport an army without sus- "picion or rumour, and of being succoured by the isles of Ma- "jorca and Minorca; what hope have we to prevail, who can- "not so secretly furnish an army and fleet, but all the world must "ring of it? and the warning given will be sufficient for a gar- "risoned town of less force and fewer men than Algiers to pre- "vent a surprise!" To say the truth, we are now wiser by expe- rience, and not unacquainted with the substantial benefits we receive in our commerce from those corsairs keeping peace with
us,

us, whilst they make war on other nations: and our possession of Gibraltar, with our ships of war stationed there, will probably be ever sufficient to keep those of Algiers, Sallée, Tunis, and Tripoli, in constant awe of us (3).

In one thousand six hundred and twenty-two, complaints being made by foreign princes as well as by the bulk of the merchants of England (4), "That sundry of our merchants, for their particular profit, supplied the rovers of Barbary with ammunition and military weapons, as artillery, &c. and also with provisions, whereby they were enabled to disturb our own commerce, as well as that of other Christian nations: king James the first therefore strictly prohibits his subjects from supplying those rovers with any of the said particulars."

In one thousand six hundred and twenty-four, is found, in the book, intitled Cabala, (or mysteries of state) a letter from Sir Walter Aston, the English ambassadour in Spain, to lord Conway, secretary of state, giving advice, "That three Scottish ships, with all their ladings, were confiscated at Malaga, for having brought thither certain Holland commodities:" which, says Mr. Anderson, we here take notice of for two reasons, viz. first, and principally, as such a precedent may, possibly, be of use hereafter, in disputes concerning contraband merchandize; and, secondly, to shew that the Scots had some commerce in the Mediterranean so early.

In one thousand six hundred and twenty-five, king Charles the first (5) appointed his favourite and lord high admiral, the duke of Buckingham, to command in chief, both by sea and land, on an intended expedition against Spain. His instructions were, "To annoy that crown by all ways possible, either by plundering his towns, or by taking his plate fleet, or other shipping, &c. He

(3) Anderson on Commerce, Vol. II. p. 8, 9, in the year 1621.
Fœdera, Vol. XVII. p. 483. Anderson, Vol. II. p. 14.
Book XVIII. p. 171—181.

(4) Fœdera,

" was

“ was also to detach some of his ships to the port of Sallée in
 “ Barbary, to treat for redeeming the English captives there, and
 “ for securing trade from piracies; as also for procuring provi-
 “ sions for his fleet, which had ten thousand land forces on board
 “ of it:” but, missing the plate fleet, Sir John Burroughs landed
 in the bay of Cadiz, burnt a few villages in that neighbourhood,
 and then returned home, without having done any effectual ser-
 vice with so great an armament.

At this same time, a league offensive and defensive was con-
 cluded at the Hague, on the second of August, between king
 Charles the first and the states of the United Netherlands, against
 Spain. The states general were to join twenty of their ships of
 war to the said English fleet, which (in the second volume of the
 general collections of treaties in English, second edition, in the
 year one thousand seven hundred and thirty-two, p. 246) is said
 to have consisted of eighty-two ships of war, for their jointly at-
 tacking of Cadiz: the Dutch to have one fifth part of the spoil,
 which design, however, was never put in execution, any more than
 another, of the same year, and against Spain too, dated South-
 ampton, seventeenth of September, one thousand six hundred and
 twenty-five, consisting of forty articles, in the said collection (6).

In pages seven hundred and ninety-three and eight hundred and
 seven of volume xviii. of the *Fœdera*, in the year one thousand six
 hundred and twenty-six, king Charles is said (in two separate
 commissions, to have appointed an envoy to the piratical states
 of Barbary, and to the town of Sallée, to treat of the redemption
 of English captives, and also of peace and commerce with them:
 for which purpose he carried with him all the Moors who had
 been made prisoners by the English, as also four brass and two
 iron cannon, with ammunition, &c. as presents: a method early

(6) Anderson on Commerce, Vol. II. p. 23.

practised by all other Christian states in treating with those people, to supply them with weapons for their own destruction!

Although Jamaica had been easily won by the English, in one thousand six hundred and fifty-six, yet, on the return of the fleet, the protector provoked at the disaster at Hispaniola, sent both Penn and Venables to the Tower: on the other hand, Spain resenting this attack, declared war against England: hereupon the brave English admirals Blake and Montague attacked the Spanish plate fleet of eight ships richly laden near the port of Cadiz, and burnt or sunk all of them, except only one, which escaped, and two which were taken, and brought to Portsmouth, in which were found upward of two millions of dollars, which Cromwell ordered to be conveyed in waggons, in a sort of triumph to London (7).

It was toward the close of the year one thousand six hundred and sixty-two, when king Charles sent admiral Lawson to Algiers, who obliged that piratical state, and also that of Tunis and Tripoli, to sign articles of pacification, which they kept just so long as they stood in fear of our ships of war in the Mediterranean.

Since Blake and Montague had taken and destroyed the above fleet, they had continued cruizing off this famous port of Cadiz, in expectation of the Spanish fleet returning from Peru: but as this fleet did not appear, though it should now have been arrived, Blake had notice, it was retired to Teneriff, one of the Canaries, till the English fleet should be sailed from before Cadiz: whereupon he stood for the Canaries the beginning of April, and found there the Spanish fleet consisting of six galleons richly laden, and ten other ships of less burden: after an obstinate fight, Blake possessed himself of the galleons, and as the wind which brought him into the bay of Santa Cruz, would not serve to carry him

(7) Clarendon, Vol. III. p. 459. Whitelock, p. 653. Ludlow. Rapin, Vol. II. p. 95.

out,

out, he set them on fire: immediately after, a land breeze arising, put him safe to sea again. The Spaniards on this occasion sustained a very great loss in ships, money, men, and merchandize: but the English acquired nothing but glory. Blake dying in his return to England, was pompously buried by Cromwell, in Henry the seventh's chapel, among the monuments of the kings. Blake was, says Whitelock, a man of as much gallantry and sincerity as any in his time, and as successful (8).

In one thousand six hundred and sixty-one, the earl of Sandwich, vice admiral, being sent with a fleet to Lisbon, to bring home the new queen, passed through the Straits of Gibraltar, and appeared before Algiers to make a treaty with the corsairs, or reduce them to reason by force: but he found them so well prepared, that he was obliged to return to Lisbon without any thing done (9).

To finish the most remarkable transactions of this year of one thousand six hundred and sixty-two, says Rapin, I shall briefly add, that after the earl of Sandwich left Lisbon, to conduct the queen into England, vice admiral Lawson sailed with a squadron through the Straits of Algiers, and forced the Algerines to a peace with England. As the king was in possession of Tangier, they, doubtless, believed, it would not be advantageous to have him for their enemy: shortly after, the king declared Tangier a free port, and invested it with great privileges (1).

The corsairs broke through this peace, which obliged Charles the second, in one thousand six hundred and sixty-eight, to send a squadron up the Straits into the Mediterranean, commanded by Sir Thomas Allen, who forced the Algerines to a peace very advantageous to England (2).

I shall only here observe, that Mr. secretary Vernon in his letter from Whitehall, to the earl of Manchester then at Paris, dated

(8) Rapin, Vol. xi. p. 96, 97. & n. (D).
Idem, p. 244.

(9) Idem, p. 221.

(1)

(2) Idem, p. 324.

August five, one thousand seven hundred, N. S. expresses some apprehension of the French fleet's possessing themselves of Gibraltar.

In one thousand seven hundred and one, several tracts were published during king William's absence, to shew the dangers to be apprehended from the growth of the power of France, and the fatal consequences of a treaty with that kingdom: among which is the following one: "That the duke of Anjou, holding Spain, " would be under the French power, it being his interest to give " all advantages to France, and particularly in point of trade, " while England and Holland would not be able to resent it: that " the Spanish trade would greatly increase the French shipping: " that France, by possessing Gibraltar, would command the trade " of the Straits," &c. Which is sufficient to shew of what importance that garrison has been looked upon by our ancestors before it fortunately fell under the protection of the British government: and as I am now approaching to that happy period, I beg leave to insert her majesty queen Anne's declaration of war against France and Spain; which was solemnly proclaimed on the fourth day of May, one thousand seven hundred and two, in these terms:—

" Anne R.

" Whereas it hath pleased Almighty God to call us to the government of these realms, at a time when our late dear brother " William the third of glorious memory, had, in pursuance of " the repeated advices of the parliament of this kingdom, entered " into solemn treaties of alliance with the emperor of Germany, " the states general of the United Provinces, and other princes " and potentates, for preserving the liberty and balance of Europe, " and for reducing the exorbitant power of France, which treaties " are grounded upon the unjust usurpations and encroachments " of the French king, who had taken, and still keeps possession of " a great part of the Spanish dominions, exercising an absolute " authority over all that monarchy, having seized Milan, and the " Spanish

“ Spanish low countries, by his armies, and made himself mas-
“ ter of Cadiz, of the entrance into the Mediterranean, and of
“ the ports of the Spanish West-Indies by his fleets, every where
“ designing to invade the liberties of Europe, and obstruct the
“ freedom of navigation and commerce: and it being provided
“ by the third and fourth articles of the forementioned alliance,
“ that if in the space of two months (which are some time since
“ expired) the injuries complained of were not remedied, the
“ parties concerned should mutually assist each other with their
“ whole strength: and whereas, instead of giving the satisfaction
“ that ought justly to be expected, the French king has not only
“ proceeded to further violence, but also has added thereunto a
“ great affront and indignity to us and our kingdoms, in taking
“ upon him to declare the pretended prince of Wales king of
“ England, Scotland, and Ireland, and has also influenced Spain
“ to concur in the same affront and indignity, as well as in his
“ other oppressions: we find ourselves obliged, for maintaining
“ the public faith, for vindicating the honour of our crown, and
“ for preventing the mischiefs which all Europe is threatened with,
“ to declare, and we do hereby accordingly declare war against
“ France and Spain; and placing our entire confidence in the help
“ of Almighty God, and so just and necessary an undertaking, we
“ will (in conjunction with our allies) vigorously prosecute the
“ same by sea and land, being assured of the ready concurrence
“ and assistance of our subjects in a cause they have so openly
“ espoused: and we do hereby will and require our lord high ad-
“ miral of England, our general of our forces, our lieutenants of
“ our several counties, governours of our forts and garrisons, and
“ all other officers and soldiers under them by sea and land, to do
“ and execute all acts of hostility in the prosecution of this war
“ against France and Spain, their vassals and subjects, and to op-
“ pose their attempts; willing and requiring all our subjects to
“ take notice of the same, whom we henceforth strictly forbid to
“ hold

“ hold any correspondence or communication with France or Spain,
 “ or their subjects. But, because there are remaining in our king-
 “ doms many of the subjects of France and Spain, we do declare
 “ our royal intention to be, that all the subjects of France and
 “ Spain, who shall demean themselves dutifully towards us, shall
 “ be safe in their persons and estates.

“ Given at our court at St. James's, the fourth day of May,
 “ one thousand seven hundred and two, in the first year of
 “ our reign.”

Before I close this chapter, I must subjoin some events that happened in king William's reign, relative to what followed afterwards.

His majesty king William in one thousand six hundred and ninety-two (4), by what council is not known, laid aside admiral Ruffel (who had so lately defeated the French fleet, and for which he had received thanks of the house of commons) and constituted Henry Killigrew, Esq; Sir Ralph Delaval, and Sir Cloudesley Shovel, to command the fleet for the summer's expedition: however, the fleets of England and Holland were numerous, and ready pretty early this year of one thousand six hundred and ninety-three, as was also a great fleet of merchantmen, near four hundred sail in all, of English, Dutch, Hamburgers, &c. prepared to sail for the Straits under the convoy of Sir George Rooke, with a strong squadron of men of war, with whom the grand fleet was to keep company till they came to a certain latitude, or as some of the ministers of state gave out afterwards, till they had true information where the French fleet was; which made their orders discretionary: and Sir George, who seemed to have some foresight of the danger, expressed himself very loth to part with them: however, seeing it did not lie in his power to help it, he sailed on, and leaving by the way the vessels bound for Bilboa, Lisbon, St. Ubes,

(3) Rapin, Vol. xv. p. 360, 361. (4) Life of king William, published in 1703, illustrated with divers cuts, medals, &c. p. 369.

and

and other ports, to put into them under the convoy of two men of war, which now reduced Sir George's squadron to twenty-one ships only; the account he himself gave of the adventure was, that he discovered the French fleet about twenty leagues short of cape St. Vincent, which made him call a council of war, wherein it was resolved, that the wind being fresh, westerly, and so giving them a fair opportunity to hasten their passage to Cadiz, the merchant ships should make the best of their way thither; that upon the discovering of the enemy's fleet, he brought to, and stood off with an easy sail, to give what time he could to the heavy sailors to work away to the windward, and sent away the Sheerneck to order the small ships that were under the shore, to endeavour to get along there in the night into Faro, St. Lucar, or Cadiz; that about six in the evening of the same day, the French admiral and vice admiral of the blue came up with the leeward and sternmost of the fleet, which were two or three Dutch men of war, who, as was learnt afterwards, fought first eleven, then seven French men of war, but were forced at last to yield, after the most obstinate resistance that ever was known; and the captains being carried on board the French admiral, he asked Schreyer, who was one of them, and fought very desperately, whether he was a man or a devil? and treated them both very civilly.

This made the Dutch merchantmen that were there, make for the shore, and the enemy after them, which gave a fair opportunity to the ships to windward and ahead to make sail off; and this tacking after the Dutch saved most of the fleet: however, the loss was very considerable; for the confederates themselves allowed thirty-two merchantmen being taken, and twenty-seven burnt; some of the former indeed belonged to neutral princes, and the greatest loss that befel the English, was the sinking of four of the greatest merchantmen in the bay of Gibraltar, where it was hoped they were safe, whereas the Danes, Dutch, &c. that put in there for shelter, came off unhurt. I have heard, says this author, the occasion.

occasion was, that when a French squadron came before the place, with a design to bombard them, that one of the first bombs that were shot fell into one of these English ships: this, though it did no considerable damage, yet so terrified the commanders, that they could think of no way of saving their effects, but as it were by losing them.

The brave Sir George Rooke, upon this sad disaster which it was not in his power to avoid, with the men of war and some merchantmen, made the best of his way for Ireland, where in time he safely arrived, to the great satisfaction of the nation in general, that things were no worse; but it must be owned, that mens tongues were hardly in any reign ever more clamorous against the ministry than now; but where the blame really was, is buried in oblivion to this very day, and likely now never to be enquired after, and so this author leaves it.

But I must further observe, that the reason of those three Dutch men of war not striking sooner, though surrounded by the French fleet, and for some time employing their whole strength, was to give time for the fleet under their convoy to get into the ports of Cadiz and Gibraltar. At last the Dutch ships were taken, and with them about thirty merchantmen, most of which Tourville either burnt or sunk, after taking out their cargoes. Tourville is justly censured for not dividing his strength, by which he could have prevented the possibility of an escape; and Sir George Rooke is perhaps no less blameable for not engaging, and thereby giving the merchant fleet an opportunity of escaping. Both the French and confederates were displeased; the one that the whole convoy was not taken; the other, that any part should have fallen into the hands of the enemy. Tourville, to repair his error, attempted to burn the combined fleet in the bay of Cadiz; but such prudent measures had been taken, as disconcerted his project. He had no better success in another attempt he made to cut away the merchant ships out of the bay of Gibraltar. Two frigates,
says

says my author (5), and several armed boats were employed in this enterprize; but the gallantry of the Dutch and English sailors obliged them to retire. He however renewed the attack, and sent fire ships among the enemy, by which means seven Danish, four English, two Genoese, and six Dutch merchantmen were destroyed. Thus ended an expedition, unfortunate indeed to the allies, as well as to some neutral nations, and neither glorious nor beneficial to France.

In the year one thousand six hundred and ninety-three, arrived in England the unfortunate news of our loss in the Mediterranean, which, though a most melancholy story, must not be omitted in this place: Sir Francis Wheeler, to whom his majesty thought to make amends for the last West-India expedition, being constituted admiral of a squadron of men of war designed for the Straits, sailed with a fleet of merchantmen under his convoy, and on the seventeenth of February, out of the bay of Gibraltar, bound up the Straits, with a good wind at N. W. but on Sunday about ten in the morning, there arose such a violent storm with thunder and lightning, and terrible rain, that hardly any man in the fleet had seen the like, and the same continued all that day and the following night, the wind blowing at E. and E. N. E. so that upon Monday the nineteenth, about five in the morning, Sir Francis Wheeler's own ship, the *Suffex*, was foundered, and all her men, except two Moors, were lost; and the brave admiral's body was on the twenty-first found on a sand bank, near Gibraltar, in his shirt and slippers, which gave people occasion to conjecture, that seeing himself in such imminent danger, he had stripped off his clothes, with a design to save his life by swimming. Though the loss was already too great, it had been well it had stopped here: but alas! the *Cambridge*, *Lumley Castle*, both of them men of war, the *Serpent* bomb ketch, and *Mary* ketch, together with the

(5) *Mod. Univ. Hist.* Vol. xxxi. p. 539, 540.

Italian Merchant, the Aleppo Factor, the Great George, and the Berkshire, bound for Turkey, the William for Venice, and the Golden Merchant for Leghorn, all English, were driven ashore and utterly lost, on the east side of Gibraltar, all ships of good value; but rear admiral Neville, with two Dutch men of war, had the good fortune to be blown out of the Straits, and put safe into Cadiz, as the rest of the fleet did on the nineteenth into Gibraltar, to repair the damages they had sustained in the storm.

C H A P. X.

TREATY OF PARTITION; THE OCCASIONAL ALARM AND CONSEQUENCES; THE OPERATIONS OF SPAIN, AND OF ENGLAND; PEACE OF AIX-LA-CHAPELLE; TREATY OF MADRID.

THAT nothing may be wanting to give my readers as clear ideas as in my power, of past events, relative to these parts of Spain, I must beg leave to insert a concise view of the history of that country from the death of Charles the second to the present time; which I literally copy from the reverend Dr. Clarke's letters concerning the Spanish nation, written at Madrid, during the years one thousand seven hundred and sixty and one thousand seven hundred and sixty-one. And in the words of the authors of the Universal History, in their preface to the ancient part, candidly owning, that in composing this history, I have all along taken, and shall take the liberty (to use the words of an ingenious gentleman, whom they have followed in this respect) "to
 " translate, to imitate, or even literally to introduce, any parts of
 " the authors from whom I have made my collections, if I
 " found them really conducing to the use or ornament of the de-
 " sign, not being able to discover any merit or cunning, in vary-
 " ing the stile and sense of an author, for no other purpose than
 " to

“to conceal the ignorance of the transcriber, or to destroy an obligation of gratitude, which ought to be confessed to all mankind (1).” And now to the point in view.

As Charles the second of Spain had no issue, England, France, and Holland, formed in one thousand six hundred and ninety-nine (2), the famous treaty of partition, for dividing the dominions of the crown of Spain, upon his death: each party had, or at least pretended to have, the common view, in this treaty, of preventing such a vast accession of power from passing either into the house of Austria, or that of Bourbon, already formidable enough of themselves. This step very sensibly affected the court of Spain. Charles the second was so much offended thereat, that, on his death-bed, he signed a will, by which he bequeathed all his dominions to Philip duke of Anjou, grandson of Lewis the fourteenth. Though that prince had before entered into the partition treaty, yet finding the succession thus left to his family, he paid no regard to any former engagements or renunciations, but on the eighteenth of February he declared his grandson Philip, king of Spain, who arrived at Madrid on the fourteenth of April, one thousand seven hundred and one. This proceeding immediately alarmed the maritime powers and the emperor; the former were apprehensive of Spanish America's falling into the hands of the French, and the latter, besides the injury he imagined done to his own family, dreaded the too great influence of the power of the house of Bourbon. A war ensued, and Charles archduke of Austria was soon after set up in opposition to Philip the fifth: his claim was vigorously supported by the maritime powers, and at first favoured by many of the grandees of Spain. In the third year of this war, the king of Portugal and the duke of Savoy joined likewise in the alliance against Philip, who, in the fol-

(1) Mr. Lewis, in his preface to his *Origines Hebrææ*.
Historical Introduction, p. 13.

(2) Clarke's

lowing campaigns, was driven from his capital, by the success of the allied forces, and almost obliged to abandon Spain: in the end, however, his party prevailed, and at the peace of Utrecht in one thousand seven hundred and thirteen, he was acknowledged as king of Spain by all the confederates leagued against him, except the emperor: the allies then contented themselves with such limitations and restrictions as might keep the two monarchies of France and Spain disunited. A treaty of partition may, indeed, be said to have taken place at the last; for Philip, by the articles of the peace, was only left in possession of Spain, its American colonies and settlements in the East-Indies; but the Spanish dominions in Italy, and the islands of Sicily and Sardinia were dismembered from the monarchy, which had also lost the island of Minorca, and the fortrefs of Gibraltar, both which places were ceded to Great Britain. The duke of Savoy was put in possession of the island of Sicily, with the title of king; and the archduke Charles, who, two years before, had been elected emperor of Germany, held Milan, Naples, and Sardinia, and still kept up his claim to the whole Spanish monarchy.

Though Philip, by the peace concluded at Utrecht, was left by the allies, possessor of the greatest and most important part of the Spanish dominions, yet some obstinate enemies still remained to be reduced, before he could be said to have fixed the Spanish crown securely upon his head. The inhabitants of Catalonia refused to acknowledge him, and finding themselves abandoned by their allies, solicited the assistance of the grand signior, in hopes of establishing themselves into an independent republic: their blind obstinacy, however, served only to heighten the miseries and calamities to which they had been greatly exposed during the whole war. After a most bloody and stubborn defence, they were reduced by the king's troops, when they were deprived of their ancient privileges, and their country was annexed to the crown of Castile, as a conquered province.

The

The reduction of Catalonia restored tranquility to Spain, which had been harassed for twelve years by a most cruel and bloody war. Philip, by that conquest, finding himself quietly seated upon the throne, began to turn his thoughts to the re-union of the Italian dominions, which he had seen wrested from him with the utmost regret. With a view to this re-union, his first wife being dead, he married Elizabeth Farnese, heiress of Parma, Placentia, and Tuscany, which alliance afterwards proved a source of new dissensions and wars among the princes of Europe, and, to this day, still leaves an opening for bloody contests.

The match was first proposed and afterwards negotiated by the famous Abbé Alberoni, who, from being a simple curate in the Parmesan, rose, by a surprising series of fortunate incidents, more than by any extraordinary talents, to be prime minister of Spain. Alberoni was the son of a common gardener. In the beginning of the war, he had, by his forwardness and address, insinuated himself into the favour of Vendôme, the French general in Italy who brought him with him to France, and afterwards to Madrid where, after the duke's death, he continued as agent for the affair of Parma, and laid hold of the opportunity of aggrandizing himself by proposing a match that suited with the views of the Spanish court: the new queen, being a stranger in Spain, was advised in every thing by Alberoni, who, being protected and countenanced by her, boldly intermeddled in affairs of state, and soon acquired a great degree of favour with the king: a few days after the celebration of the king's marriage with the princess of Parma, his grandfather Lewis the fourteenth died, and left his dominions to an infant successor. Though Philip had, before the conclusion of the treaty of Utrecht, solemnly renounced, for himself and his heirs, all right to the succession of the crown of France, yet he was now strongly urged by Alberoni to insist upon the regency of that kingdom, during the minority, as first prince of the blood of France, and next in succession to the present monarch: this

wild

wild and imprudent counsel, if it had been followed, would undoubtedly have involved Spain in a new war, which would have had no other object, than the mere point of honour; and, upon that consideration, and perhaps some regard to the oath, it was rejected by the king: it proved, however, extremely prejudicial to Spain, and, in the end, occasioned the ruin of Alberoni; for the duke of Orleans, who had been declared regent by the parliament of Paris, having received intelligence of his designs, conceived an implacable hatred against him, did his utmost to thwart all his projects of government, and never ceased persecuting him, till he saw him disgraced. This happened a very few years afterward, the duke's wishes being seconded by Alberoni's own conduct; for the same impetuous and intriguing spirit, which had promoted his grandeur, pushed him on to his downfall.

At this time, however, he was in the height of favour, and continually urged the king, not to delay the renewing of the war in Italy, against the emperor Charles, who gave just foundation for a rupture, by still retaining the title of king of Spain, by creating Spanish grandees, by protecting those who were disaffected to Philip, and by punishing those who remained faithful to him, with the forfeiture of their estates in Flanders and Italy. The queen, who was lately delivered of a son, had now got a great ascendancy over her husband, and zealously supporting Alberoni in all his proceedings, Philip, out of complaisance to her, was easily persuaded to commit the whole management of his affairs to him, and weakly suffered himself to be guided in every thing, by his counsels. Alberoni, though not declared prime minister, now acted as such, with a most despotic authority, and caused immense military preparations to be carried on in the ports of Spain, with the design of attacking the dominions possessed by the emperor in Italy: but, to deceive the pope, from whom he had, for some time, been soliciting a cardinal's hat, and who, he knew, would be greatly offended with the renewal of the war in Italy,

Italy, he, by private letters, professed his abhorrence of disturbing the repose of that country, and alledged, that the naval armaments were designed against the Turks, who had attacked the Venetian territories in Greece, and even struck a terror into the Italians, by making a descent upon their coasts.

The great naval preparations kept all Europe in suspense, and very much alarmed several states: the emperor suspected an attack upon Naples and Milan; the duke of Savoy feared an invasion of Sicily, which island, he knew, was not well affected to him; and George the first of Great Britain was apprehensive, that the fleet was designed to assist the Jacobites, who had been defeated two years before in Scotland.

Alberoni having at length obtained from the pope, not only the dignity of cardinal for himself, but also an indulgence to raise a subsidy, for five years, upon the clergy in Spain and Spanish America, immediately took off the mask, and ordered the fleet to sail against Sardinia, which island was reduced in less than two months. The emperor being, at this time, engaged in a war against the Turks in Hungary, had left but a very few troops in his Italian dominions, not expecting to be attacked by Philip in those parts, as both princes had stipulated to observe a neutrality, in regard to them: he had, indeed, done some things that might be deemed infractions of that neutrality; but the king of Spain not having made any formal complaints of these, was now generally looked upon as the aggressor, by the invasion of Sardinia.

Accordingly the pope, who now never mentioned Alberoni's name but with some injurious epithet, by a public brief expressed his resentment against Philip, and he, in return, commanded his nuncio to leave Spain. The king of Great Britain, and the regent of France ordered their ambassadours at Madrid, to complain of the violation of the neutrality: they even sent ambassadours extraordinary to Spain, to press an accommodation between the emperor and Philip. Alberoni however replying in a very haughty
style,

stile, and continuing his military preparations with more vigour than ever, the powers who offered their mediation entered into a league with the emperor, which was called the triple alliance; and king George sent a fleet of twenty-six ships of the line into the Mediterranean, under the command of admiral Byng, who was ordered to maintain the neutrality of Italy.

The Spanish minister vainly persuaded himself, that no powers but those who were directly attacked, would interfere in opposing his wild schemes, which tended to disturb the settled tranquility of Europe; and he least of all expected to see an intimate alliance betwixt the courts of Great Britain and France: his success against Sardinia, which was but a trifling conquest, so far blinded him, that he thought himself sufficient alone to oppose three of the most formidable powers of Europe united: he still pursued his warlike preparations with the utmost vigour, which were greater than any fitted out by Spain, since the time of the famous armada against England. He consulted with nobody, and the Spanish officers of the greatest prudence and experience, who ventured to give their advice, were treated by him with contempt and arrogance.

To counterbalance the power of the triple alliance, he vainly attempted to embroil all Europe: he sent an envoy to Constantinople, to excite prince Ragotski to renew the war in Hungary, where the Turks had agreed to a truce for four years; he formed a conspiracy in France for deposing the regent, which served only to heighten the animosity of the duke of Orleans against himself; he pressed the czar of Muscovy, to attack the emperor's hereditary dominions, and he offered large subsidies to Charles the twelfth of Sweden, if he would invade Great Britain.

During these negotiations, the Spanish fleet, consisting of twenty-six ships of the line, besides frigates, sailed from Barcelona, having on board thirty thousand of the best troops of Spain, most of them veterans, who had been in all the actions of the long war of the succession.

On

On the first and second of July, one thousand seven hundred and nineteen, the army landed on Sicily, and, in a few weeks, made themselves masters of a great part of that island: the entire conquest, in all probability, would very soon have been completed, but the Spanish fleet, on the ninth of August, being totally defeated by admiral Byng, who took and destroyed twenty-three ships of the line, their land army could no longer receive any considerable supplies, while the Piedmontese garrisons were daily reinforced by German troops from the kingdom of Naples.

Notwithstanding the fatal blow the Spanish marine had received, Alberoni still thought himself able to cope with the many enemies which his turbulent ambition had raised against Spain, though he had exhausted, not only the king's revenues, but also those of many private persons. Being disappointed in his expectations from Charles the twelfth, who was killed on the tenth of December, before Fredericshall in Norway, he sent for the pretender from Rome, and ordered five thousand men to be embarked at the Groyne, with a view to invade both Scotland and Ireland: only about one thousand of those troops however landed in Scotland, where they, and about two thousand Jacobites, who had joined them, were quickly defeated and dispersed: the rest, after suffering greatly by a storm, were obliged to return to Spain. A few ships about the same time sailed from Vigo to the coast of Britany, in hopes of raising an insurrection in that province, against the duke of Orleans; but this attempt had no better success than the other.

Though Alberoni seemed to triumph in the beginning of his enterprizes, yet he now began severely to feel the superiour strength of the powers with whom he had to contend; which, indeed, had been discovered long before, almost by every body but himself. The regent of France sent a powerful army against Spain, under the command of the duke of Berwick, who, in three months,

made himself master of the provinces of Guipuscoa and Roussillon, with all their fortified places, and, at Port Passage and Santogna, burnt seven ships of war, and materials for seven others, the loss of the whole being computed at near eight hundred thousand pounds; and a few months after, the English landed, with four thousand men, at Vigo, where, after making themselves masters of the town, they carried off six small vessels. These invasions, with the bad news from Sicily, where the Spaniards had been obliged for several months to act on the defensive, at length opened the eyes of Philip, and induced him to hearken to the representations of his confessor d'Aubenton, and the marquis Scoti, the minister of Parma, who assured him, that the allies would never agree to a peace, while Alberoni continued in Spain.

Philip, alarmed with the bad situation of his affairs, had for some months expressed great dissatisfaction with Alberoni, and now parted with him without regret: he ordered him to leave Spain in three weeks, declared the marquis de Bedmar and the marquis de Grimaldi his first ministers, and recalled several noblemen, who, on various pretences, had been banished, during the late administration. Alberoni left Spain about the middle of December, and retired to Italy, where he was so persecuted by the pope, and even Philip, that for several years he was obliged to travel disguised, and to conceal the place of his residence.

A few months after the retreat of Alberoni, Philip, though very unwillingly, acceded to the triple alliance, by which he engaged himself to evacuate both Sicily and Sardinia: the Spanish troops accordingly abandoned those two islands the ensuing summer, the emperor being put in possession of Sicily, and the duke of Savoy of Sardinia: soon after, a congress was appointed to be held at Cambray, to settle all differences among the contending parties, and treat of a final pacification. While some preliminary points were settling, Philip sent the marquis de Leyde, with a considerable fleet and army, to the relief of Ceuta, which had been besieged,

besieged for twenty-six years by the Moors. The Spanish troops, a few days after their arrival, totally routed and dispersed the Moors, and made themselves masters of their entrenched camp, and all their artillery.

As the duke of Orleans, since the disgrace of Alberoni, had seemingly favoured the pretensions of Spain, Philip, the following year, at his solicitation, contracted a double alliance with the branches of the house of Bourbon in France. The infanta of Spain, though then only three years of age, was sent to France as future queen to Lewis the fifteenth, and two of the daughters of the duke of Orleans arrived in Spain, to be married to the prince of Asturias and the infant don Carlos. The succession of this last to the duchies of Parma and Tuscany seemed now to be the chief object of the court of Spain. This point and many others were to be settled at Cambray; but as the emperor, who had no inclination to gratify the Spaniards, purposely delayed the congress, Philip this year concluded a particular treaty with the court of Great Britain, who having the assiento, or contract of supplying the Spanish colonies with negroes, renewed, agreed to restore the ships taken off Sicily.

Nothing memorable happened in Spain during the two following years; but in the beginning of the year after, one thousand seven hundred and twenty-four, Philip astonished all Europe, by publicly abdicating his crown in favour of his eldest son don Lewis, prince of Asturias, who was then in the seventeenth year of his age. Philip himself, though he had not reached his fortieth year, had long been sick of regal grandeur: from a weakness of body and mind, the least application to business had for some years given him a disgust; his mind was continually filled with religious scruples, which rendered him timorous and indecisive in every thing; and he falsely imagined that a sceptre was incompatible with a life of integrity.

The Spaniards expressed great joy upon the accession of Lewis the first, who was endeared to them, not only by being born among them, but also by his generosity, affability, and many other virtues. The public joy, however, was soon turned into mourning, by the unexpected death of the king, who died of the small-pox, universally regretted, in the eighth month of his reign.

Upon the death of Lewis, Philip was persuaded to resume the reins of government, and the year following surprised all the powers of Europe, by concluding a particular treaty with the emperor; upon which, the different princes recalled their plenipotentiaries from Cambray, where they had trifled away three years merely in feasting and entertainments. By the treaty of Vienna, which was with the utmost secrecy negotiated by the famous Ripperda, Philip resigned all pretensions to Naples, Sicily, the Low Countries, and the Milanese; Charles, on the other hand, renounced all claim to Spain and the Indies, and besides, promised to grant the investiture of Parma and Tuscany to don Carlos. Philip soon after entered into an offensive and defensive alliance with the court of Vienna; to counter-balance which, the courts of Great Britain, France, and Prussia, concluded a mutual alliance at Hanover.

The system of Europe by these treaties seemed again changed, especially as Philip was at this time greatly irritated against France, on account of their sending back the infant, and now connected himself most closely with the court of Vienna. The bad understanding betwixt Spain and France was soon followed with a rupture betwixt that court and Great Britain. Ripperda, by concluding the treaty of Vienna, rose so high in Philip's favour, that he was created a duke and grandee of Spain, and was entrusted with the departments of war, of the marine, the finances, and the Indies. He enjoyed those honours and offices, however, only a few months, for the different regulations he proposed were so disgustful to the lazy Spaniards, that he was accused of mal-administration.

nistraton, and not only disgraced, but also persecuted: to save himself, he took refuge in the house of Mr. Stanhope, the English ambassadour; but the court was so exasperated against him, that they took him from thence by force, and sent him prisoner to the castle of Segovia. The English ambassadour, in resentment for the breach of his privileges, protested against their violence, and left Madrid.

The emperour, who was offended with the opposition he had met with from Great Britain, in establishing an East India company at Ostend, fomented the differences betwixt this court and Spain, and was so successful at Madrid, that the year following, one thousand seven hundred and twenty-seven, in the end of February, the Spaniards laid siege to Gibraltar. They soon found the enterprize, however, above their strength, and, after four months of open trenches, were obliged to retire with disgrace. The bishop of Frejus, afterwards so well known by the name of cardinal Fleury, was at this time labouring to establish a general pacification among the powers of Europe, and had prevailed on the emperour and king of Great Britain, and the states general, to agree with France in signing the preliminaries for a peace. The Spaniards, who wanted a fair pretence to withdraw from Gibraltar, soon after acceded to these preliminaries. A general congress being then appointed to be held at Soissons, Philip sent three plenipotentiaries thither, and soon after sent an ambassadour for the first time to Russia, who concluded a treaty of commerce between the two nations. As the negotiations at Soissons met with many interruptions, on account of the various claims of the different princes who had sent their plenipotentiaries thither, Philip, the following year, one thousand seven hundred and twenty-nine, concluded a particular treaty at Seville, with Great Britain and France, to which the states general afterwards acceded: by this treaty, Philip promised no longer to countenance the Ostend company; and the other powers, in return, engaged to guarantee the succession

succession of don Carlos to the duchies of Tuscany, Parma, and Placentia, and to assist in introducing six thousand Spaniards into these territories: the emperor, who could not bear the thoughts of seeing Spanish troops in Italy, was greatly offended with this treaty, and endeavoured, by artifice, to render it ineffectual: accordingly, two years after, when the succession to Parma and Placentia opened to don Carlos by the death of the last duke of the Farnese family, the emperor's troops took possession of several fortified places in those dukedoms, under pretence that the widow of the late duke had been left with child by him. Charles, however, seeing no way of securing those duchies by negotiation, and being sensible that the cheat would soon be detected, agreed at length to suffer six thousand Spaniards to accompany don Carlos into Italy, and also engaged to suppress the Ostend company, which had given so much offence; Great Britain, on the other hand, promising to guarantee his dominions in Italy. Soon after, an English fleet joined that of Spain, and conducted the infant don Carlos to Leghorn, who quietly at length took possession of Parma, which had been destined to him as his inheritance ever since his birth.

The settlement of don Carlos being accomplished, the court of Spain turned their views to the recovery of Oran: an army of twenty-five thousand men was accordingly sent to Africa under the command of the count de Montemar, who totally defeated the Moorish army, and in less than a month made himself master of the place, though it was defended by a garrison of ten thousand men.

The recovery of their African possessions was far from satisfying the ambition of the Spanish court, who now eagerly embraced an opportunity of breaking with the emperor, and thereby extending their dominions in Italy: the throne of Poland becoming vacant, by the death of the elector of Saxony, the greatest part of the Poles elected Stanislaus, who had formerly been their king; but

but a few of the most powerful chose the new elector of Saxony, and the son of their late king: Stanislaus was supported by his son-in-law, Lewis the fifteenth of France, who, on this occasion, entered into an offensive and defensive alliance with the kings of Spain and Sardinia. The emperor Charles and the czarina zealously espoused the cause of the other competitor.

The war which ensued was very favourable to the Spaniards, who, in one campaign, made an entire conquest of the kingdom of Naples. The year following, one thousand seven hundred and thirty-five, don Carlos completed the conquest of Sicily, and was crowned as king of the two Sicilies in Palermo, the capital city of the island: the emperor, in the mean time, being driven out of almost all his possessions in Lombardy and Tuscany, and being also unable to oppose the French armies on the Rhine, solicited the mediation of the maritime powers, who, by threatening to take part in the war, prevailed on the contending parties to agree to a suspension of arms in the beginning of winter. As the elector of Saxony was by this time securely fixed upon the throne of Poland, and the intercession of the maritime powers cut off all hopes from the French and Spaniards of enlarging their conquests in Italy and Germany, they were obliged to continue the armistice, and to negotiate a peace.

The preliminary articles of the treaty which were settled by the courts of Vienna and Paris, being published in the beginning of the year one thousand seven hundred and thirty-six, were far from being satisfactory to the court of Spain, because, though they were allowed to keep Naples and Sicily, it was proposed they should restore Parma and Placentia to the emperor, and renounce all claim to Tuscany. The maritime powers, however, acquiescing in the disposition that had been made, Spain was obliged to submit, and the year following, upon the death of John Gaston de Medicis, the last male descendant of that illustrious family, the Spanish troops evacuated Tuscany, which, by the treaty then negotiating,

gociating, was given to the duke of Lorrain and Bar, who in the beginning of the preceding year had married the archduchess Maria Theresa, the heiress of the family of Austria.

The peace, which had been negotiating near three years, was at length concluded at Vienna in the month of November, one thousand seven hundred and thirty-eight. By this treaty, Parma and Placentia were ceded in full propriety to the emperor; and his son-in-law was declared duke of Tuscany; the duke, in return, ceding his duchies of Bar and Lorrain, to the exiled king Stanislaus, upon whose death they were to be annexed to the crown of France. The fiefs of the Fortonese and Vigevanese were detached from the Milanese in favour of the king of Sardinia, and don Carlos was left in possession of the kingdom of Naples and Sicily, with some places on the coast of Tuscany.

The treaty of Vienna was hardly ratified, when Spain was threatened with a new war with Great Britain on account of the disputes, which for some time had subsisted between the two courts, about the freedom of commerce in America. The British court had, for some years, made loud complaints of the piracies and hostilities committed in the American seas, by the Spanish guardacostas, who, on trifling and false pretences, seized the English ships in their passage to their own colonies, and not only made prize of them, but also treated their crews with the greatest inhumanity: the court of Spain, on the other hand, alledged, that the British merchants, in violation of solemn treaties, had, for many years, carried on a clandestine trade with the Spanish colonies in America, by which the commerce of Spain had been greatly prejudiced; that Spain was, therefore, greatly interested in putting a stop to such illicit traffick, and that those who were seized in carrying it on, could not justly complain of an injury.

Both nations insisted loudly on the injuries they had received; but each evaded giving any satisfaction as to those injuries which their respective subjects had committed. The Spaniards, indeed, amused

amused the English with hopes of redress; they sent orders to their commanders in America to cease hostilities; yet they connived at the breach of those orders, and returned evasive answers to all representations that were made to them on that head: their presumption was not so much owing to a confidence in their own strength, as to their opinion of the passiveness of the British ministry, and their knowledge of the violent contentions between the different parties in this island.

It was certainly the interest of both parties to avoid coming to extremities; but the Spaniards not acting with sincerity, even in their negotiations for a peaceable accommodation of all differences, and aiming by the famous convention concluded in the beginning of the following year, to quiet the complaints, without having the causes of them fully discussed, the court of London was at length provoked to issue letters of reprisals against the Spaniards, their vessels and effects: this step was soon followed by declarations of war at London and Madrid, and both nations began hostilities with great animosity. The Spaniards at first made considerable advantages by the capture of great numbers of English ships; but they were soon alarmed with the news of the loss of Porto Bello, which was taken in the beginning of December, one thousand seven hundred and thirty-nine, by admiral Vernon. About the same time, they suffered very considerably by the ravages of the Barbary corsairs on their coasts, and were threatened with the loss of their richest provinces in America, by a conspiracy formed by one Cordova, who pretended to be descended from the ancient Yncas of Peru. The conspiracy however was happily discovered before it took effect, and the author of it put to death.

The following year, the Spaniards sent a fleet of eighteen ships of the line to the West-Indies, with a design, as it was supposed, of attacking Jamaica: the French, likewise, though they still professed a neutrality, sent two squadrons to the American seas, to act defensively in favour of the Spaniards, being bound by

treaty to guarantee their territories: the English, in the meantime, blind to their own internal strength, suffered themselves most absurdly to be alarmed with the rumour of an invasion from Spain, and neglected sending succours to admiral Vernon, who had bombarded Carthagena, and taken Chagre, a town on the river of that name, the head of which is but a few miles distant from Panama, on the South sea.

About the same time, general Oglethorpe, governour of Georgia, attacked fort St. Augustine, the capital of Spanish Florida; but, after lying some weeks before the place, he was obliged to withdraw, with loss. In the end of October, one thousand seven hundred and forty, the English, at length, sent out a most powerful fleet, as a reinforcement to admiral Vernon, who, the following year, in the month of March, invested Carthagena by sea and land, with a fleet of twenty-nine ships of the line, and an army of about twelve thousand men: the Spaniards, however, by the dilatoriness of the English ministry, having had leisure to reinforce the garrison, and the season of the year being very unfavourable to troops in the field, the English, after a siege of some weeks, were obliged to retire, with the loss of several thousand men. The neglect of timely supporting admiral Vernon was very fortunate for Spain; for, if he had commanded but half that force the preceding year, when he made the first attack upon Carthagena, he would, in all probability, have reduced that city as well as Chagre; and, as the passage from this last place to Panama is but very short, the land troops might also have reduced that town, which would have enabled them to co-operate with commodore Anson, who had sailed round cape Horn, and this year began to act offensively against the Spanish settlements on the South sea.

The bad success of the English arms in the West-Indies occasioned great joy in Spain; and Philip, as a reward for the bravery of the marquis de Eslaba, governour of Carthagena, promoted him to the rank of captain-general, and created him viceroy of Peru.

Peru. Philip, some months before, had published a memorial, claiming the succession of the hereditary dominions of his rival Charles the sixth, who had died at Vienna in the month of October, and was succeeded by his eldest daughter, Maria Theresa, who took the title of Queen of Hungary. All that the catholic king aimed at by this claim, was the securing of Lombardy for his third son, don Philip, which, he thought, would at this time be an easy prize, as the queen of Hungary was unexpectedly attacked by the king of Prussia, and also by the elector of Bavaria, who was assisted by the kings of France and Poland: however, while the fate of Carthage depended, the Spaniards made not the least efforts against their new enemy; but, upon receiving the news of the repulse of the English, they assembled a body of forces at Barcelona, which sailed for Naples in the month of November, under the command of the duke de Montemar: those troops were reinforced the following year one thousand seven hundred and forty-two from Spain, and being joined by the Neapolitans, formed an army of about sixty thousand men, Montemar then advanced through the ecclesiastical state as far as the Bolognese: but the king of Sardinia declaring for the queen of Hungary, and joining the Austrian army, the Spaniards were obliged to retreat, in the end of summer, to the kingdom of Naples, where, soon after their arrival, they lost their Neapolitan allies, don Carlos being forced to agree to a neutrality, by an English squadron, which threatened to bombard his capital. This was a great disappointment to the Spaniards, for they depended upon being superiour in Italy before the end of the campaign, as don Philip, after marching through France at the head of thirty thousand men, had now entered Savoy, and taken possession of Chambery. Philip expected to conquer this duchy, while the king of Sardinia was opposing Montemar; but to his great surprise, the Piedmontese, who had left pursuing Montemar, quickly attacked him, and obliged him to retreat to France.

The Spaniards, notwithstanding the bad success of their arms, were still bent upon pursuing their ambitious views in Italy, where they supported their armies at a great expence for several campaigns, the detail of which is of no great importance. The count de Gages, and their other generals, instead of having any prospect of making conquests in that country, found themselves every year obliged to struggle with new obstacles; and any flattering successes they met with were more than counterbalanced by the advantages gained by their enemies. Their perseverance in the unsuccessful war in Italy was chiefly owing to the queen, who having gained a great ascendancy over her husband, prevailed upon him to sacrifice every thing to procure a settlement for her son Philip; and her views were seconded by the prime minister, the marquis Ensenada, who having been first raised from an obscure station, by the favour of the count de Gages, was very active and zealous in furnishing him with supplies, which, however, were seldom adequate to the necessities of the army.

Fortunately for Spain, the attention of the English was also drawn off to an unnational object, which exhausted their revenues, and prevented them from prosecuting the war in America with any vigour. King George, who had espoused the cause of the queen of Hungary, not only assisted her by large subsidies, but also most imprudently transported his troops to Flanders, and maintained a large army on the continent, at an immense expence, while naval armaments were almost wholly neglected. Because one enterprize in America had proved unsuccessful, the English seemed to conclude, that it would be in vain to hope for success in any other. Admiral Vernon, after his return from Carthagen, made a descent upon Cuba near St. Jago; but the troops, instead of attacking that place, were suffered to remain several months inactive in their camp, where the greatest part of them was cut off by sickness.

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In the beginning of this year, a small reinforcement arriving at Jamaica, admiral Vernon again sailed for Porto Bello; general Wentworth, who commanded the land troops, proposing to cross the isthmus, and attack Panama: but when they arrived at the Spanish coasts, it was agreed, that the enterprize was impracticable. They accordingly sailed back to Jamaica, and in the end of the year returned to England. The Spaniards at St. Augustine in the mean time had made an attempt upon Georgia, with two frigates and thirty other vessels, on board of which were three thousand land forces: but general Oglethorpe quickly obliged them to retire.

The following year, one thousand seven hundred and forty-three, the Spaniards were so intent upon supporting their arms in Italy, that they wholly omitted prosecuting the war against England, unless by their privateers, who made a great many prizes both in Europe and America. The affairs of the empire in the mean time chiefly engrossed the attention of the English, who marched into Germany under the command of the earl of Stair; and after king George had joined them, defeated the French at Dettingen on the twenty-seventh of June. One of their squadrons, under the command of commodore Knowles, made an attack upon La Guira and Porto Cavallo, two fortresses on the north coast of South America, but were repulsed by the Spaniards with considerable loss.

The Spaniards were chiefly annoyed by the English squadron in the Mediterranean under admiral Matthews, who greatly disturbed their trade, and rendered it extremely difficult for them to send supplies to their armies in Italy. The following year, on the eleventh of February, that admiral attacked the Spanish and French fleets united off Toulon; this engagement was prevented from becoming general, by the French declining to come into the line, on one hand, and the backwardness of admiral Lestock on the other; but the Spanish ships that engaged were defeated by the English.

English. The Spanish fleet might have been attacked three days after, at a great disadvantage; but a bad understanding that subsisted between the English admirals prevented them from improving the favourable opportunity.

From this time nothing very memorable happened relative to the affairs of Spain, till the eleventh of July, one thousand seven hundred and forty-six, when Philip died at Madrid, in the sixty-third year of his age, and was succeeded by the only surviving son of his first marriage don Ferdinand. By his second queen, Elizabeth of Farnese, Philip left three sons, don Carlos, then king of the two Sicilies, don Philip, at present duke of Parma and Placentia, and don Lewis, who was created archbishop of Toledo when an infant, but since has resigned that benefice, and obtained leave to quit the church: three daughters by the same queen likewise survived him, Maria Anna Victoria, at present queen of Portugal; Maria Theresa married the year before to the dauphin; and Maria Antonietta: Maria Theresa, the dauphiness, died in child-bed, a few days after her father.

Ferdinand the sixth, who was about thirty-three years of age, when he ascended the throne, began his reign with several acts of popularity: among others, he assigned two days in the week to receive in person the petitions and remonstrances of his subjects. He appointed the famous don Joseph de Carvajal Lancastre his first minister, and soon after published an edict, declaring, that he would fulfil the engagements of his predecessors with his allies: it might rather have been expected at this time, that an alteration would have taken place in the system of the court of Spain; for the war in Italy, which for five years had been very burdensome, and was plainly an unnatural object, was now very unsuccessful; and the war with Great Britain seemed to have no other consequence but to interrupt the Spanish commerce, and to heighten the price of English commodities in Spain, where they are always much wanted. The Spaniards, this campaign, had been twice
defeated

defeated in Lombardy, with the loss of upwards of twenty thousand men killed and taken prisoners, and had been forced by the Austrians to abandon Italy, and retire into Provence.

Ferdinand, however, still continued the war, and imputing the disgrace of his arms to the misconduct of the count de Gages, recalled him, and gave the command to the marquis de las Minas. In the end of the year, indeed, he allowed the chamber of commerce to enter into a private treaty with the English South sea company, for supplying the Spanish America with negroes; but he could not be prevailed upon by the king of Portugal to agree to a separate peace with Great Britain: his allies, the French, however, suffering greatly the following year, one thousand seven hundred and forty-seven, by the destruction of their fleets, the ruin of their commerce, and a general famine, which induced them to solicit a congress, he also gave his consent for a peace, as it was in vain to expect to continue the war with any success, either in Italy or against Great Britain, after the French had laid down their arms.

Whether this was agreeable to the queen dowager is uncertain; but as she had for several years interfered in the direction of state affairs, in behalf of her children, to the great prejudice of the kingdom, and had treated him, when prince of Asturias, in a disrespectful manner, and on many occasions very despitefully, Ferdinand now ordered her to leave Madrid, and to reside either at Toledo, Valladolid, Burgos, or Saragossa; and he also gave orders, that her son don Lewis should retire to his diocese.

Soon after, the plenipotentiaries began to assemble at Aix-la-Chapelle, the place appointed for the congress, and the following year, after they had agreed upon the preliminary articles, a cessation of hostilities was published in the month of May: the definitive treaty was concluded on the seventh of October, and contained twenty-four articles, of which the treaties of Westphalia, Madrid, Nimeguen, Ryswick, Utrecht, Baden, London, and Vienna,

Vienna, were declared the basis: by this treaty, the queen of Hungary ceded to the infant don Philip, the duchies of Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla, but with this reserve, that if Philip should die without male issue, or he or his posterity should succeed to the throne of Spain, or Sicily, those duchies should revert to the house of Austria. As the king of Sardinia had some pretensions to Placentia and the Placentine, his cession was likewise necessary, which he gave in the amplest manner; on this condition, however, that the territory should again revert to him, if Philip should die without male issue, or his brother don Carlos succeed to the crown of Spain. At this day, therefore, the treaty is plainly violated by Philip, in regard to the king of Sardinia, though not in regard to the empress queen; for though don Philip has not succeeded to the throne of Naples, yet don Carlos succeeded to the throne of Spain. Thus, the foundation of a new war is already laid in Italy, as it is not to be expected, that the king of Sardinia will without expressing his resentment suffer himself to be robbed of his right, and perhaps the empress queen will also look upon herself as injured, as the clause of reversion of those duchies was the same, in the preliminary articles, in regard to Austria as Sardinia: by other articles of the definitive treaty, the king of Sardinia, the republic of Genoa, and the duke of Modena were reinstated in their former possessions; and the assiento, or contract for negroes with the English merchants, was granted for four years, as an equivalent for the same number of years which had been interrupted by the war.

But not the least mention was made in the treaty of the right claimed by the Spanish guarda-costas, of searching foreign ships, that approach their American colonies, nor of their privilege of fishing on the banks of Newfoundland, nor of their exclusive right to the bay of Campeachy, where the English had formed settlements before the year one thousand six hundred and seventy: these disputed points, which had too precipitately hurried the Spanish and British nations into a war, were now referred, with some others

others of less consequence, to be settled amicably by commissaries: if the national interest on both sides had been equitably consulted, the differences might easily have been adjusted in that manner before the war; but each nation, from narrow views, had wanted solely to engross certain advantages, which it claimed as peculiar to itself, though a mutual communication of them would have been no detriment to either.

The peace of Aix-la-Chapelle seemed to have restored tranquility to Europe: Ferdinand, nevertheless, still kept up all his land forces, and gave orders for augmenting his marine with the utmost diligence. The marquis de Ensenada, who was now prime minister, being sensible of the great prejudice the Spanish commerce sustained by the clandestine trade carried on by foreigners with their colonies, gave orders for guarding the American coasts more strictly than ever. These orders being obeyed with the utmost vigilance, were not only disagreeable to the trading nations of Europe, but also to the Spanish colonists themselves, who, the following year, rose in arms in the province of Caraccas, obliged the Spanish troops to retire into the fort of La Guira, and declared for a freedom of commerce. Upon the news of this insurrection fifteen hundred men were embarked at Cadiz, who, upon their arrival at America, were so successful as to quell the rebellion.

Ferdinand, in the mean time, applied his chief attention to regulate the internal policy of his kingdom, and inspire his subjects with a spirit of industry: he particularly aimed at promoting and encouraging agriculture, the truest source of the riches of a state, possessing an extensive territory; he granted charters for establishing manufactures of fine woollen cloth, and gave great encouragement to some English ship carpenters and weavers, who had been tempted to go and settle in Spain; he ordered no less than twenty thousand vagrants to be apprehended in the different provinces, and to be employed in tillage, and country improvements; and in the end of summer, he opened the communication between the

two Castiles, by a fine road, forty-six miles in length, on which were no less than two hundred and eighty-three aqueducts, and seven bridges of fine architecture, the whole being begun and finished in five months, under the direction of the marquis de Ensenada. The king was enabled to prosecute his designs by the immense wealth which at this time poured into Spain; for as the English, towards the end of the war, had acted with great vigour at sea, the colonists waited for a peace, before they would embark their treasure for Europe, and it now arrived to a great amount, and likewise during the two following years.

The Spanish and British commissaries in the mean time were employed in negotiating the disputed points betwixt the two courts, which were at length finally settled by a treaty concluded at Madrid on the fifth of October, one thousand seven hundred and fifty: by this treaty the king of Great Britain gave up his claim to the four remaining years of the assiento contract, and to all debts the king of Spain owed to the English company on that account, for an equivalent of a hundred thousand pounds sterling. His catholic majesty engaged to require from British subjects trading in his ports, no higher duties than they paid in the time of Charles the second of Spain, and to allow the same subjects to take salt on the island of Tortuga. All former treaties were confirmed, and the two princes promised to abolish all innovations that appeared to have been introduced into the reciprocal commerce of both nations: these innovations, however, not being specified, it was the same thing as if no mention had been made of them at all. Thus the most material differences being suffered to remain undecided, most unhappily gave rise to another war; whereas, if the controverted claims had been clearly and candidly discussed, and the differences settled by a friendly communication of mutual advantages, which no ways excluded precision and distinctness as to the extent of those advantages, the two nations might have lived in amity without interruption, and thereby promoted each other's prosperity.

prosperity. Though gold be the idol of traders, yet it is far from always contributing to render a state flourishing and happy; and if the English merchants shall violate treaties in search of it, it would be more for the honour and interest of this nation to punish the offenders, than to enter into a new war in their defence.

The remaining years of Ferdinand's reign, after the signing of the treaty of Madrid, were very barren of events: the English court was jealous of his attempts to introduce the woollen manufacture in Spain, and called home their workmen in that branch, who had passed over thither. New disputes likewise arose betwixt them, on account of the English trafficking with the Indians of the Moskito shore, who had never submitted to Spain, and claimed to act as a free nation. Ferdinand, at the same time, had the mortification to find it impossible to introduce a spirit of industry among his subjects, the favours and encouragements of the court being like rain falling upon a sandy desert, where there was not a seed or plant to be enlivened by it. In the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-four, the marquis de Ensenada was unexpectedly disgraced, and the department of the Indies, one of the places he enjoyed, was conferred on don Richard Wall, secretary of state for foreign affairs, who had lately returned from an embassy in England. About two years after, a war breaking out betwixt Great Britain and France, Ferdinand declared, on that occasion, that he would adhere to the strictest neutrality; but he was far from observing the neutrality he professed, and particularly favoured France in a great number of instances.

His queen dying in the end of the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-eight, he was so affected with grief, that he entirely abandoned himself to gloom and melancholy; and neglecting both exercise and food, threw himself into a dangerous distemper, which, after preying upon him for several months, put a period to his life the year following, on the tenth of August. As Ferdinand left no issue, he was succeeded by his brother, don

Carlos, king of the two Sicilies, who resigned that kingdom, and disjoined it from the monarchy of Spain by a solemn deed, in favour of his third son, don Ferdinand; setting aside his eldest son on account of his weakness of mind or idiotism, and reserving his second son for the succession of Spain. Don Carlos, or Charles, arrived in Spain in the month of November, and soon after entered Madrid in great pomp and ceremony.

It would neither be prudent nor decent in me to enlarge on the transactions of the present reign, those particularly relating to Great Britain, which are recent in every one's memory. I shall only observe, that whoever will peruse the letters lately laid before the parliament, relating to Spain, will plainly perceive the candour of the court of Great Britain, and the ability of her ministers; and that the Spaniards artfully, and with the greatest injustice, aimed at a rupture, for which they have since paid very dear, by being obliged to desist from their pretensions to a fishery at Newfoundland, and likewise to cede to us all Florida, and to allow us to cut logwood in the bay of Campeachy.

C H A P. XI.

FLEETS OF BRITAIN SENT INTO THE MEDITERRANEAN; OF BARCELONA; GIBRALTAR TAKEN, ETC.

IN consequence of the foregoing declaration of war, her majesty sent her fleet to Cadiz, as has been related, under Sir George Rooke in one thousand seven hundred and two; but failing in the enterprize, Sir George Rooke was blamed; and in short the misconduct of that expedition is, by bishop Burnet, thrown entirely upon that admiral (1): and, further, that he even failed to Vigo very unwillingly: however, in one thousand seven hundred and three,

(1) Rapin, Vol. xv. p. 420—525, &c.

it was resolved to send a strong fleet into the Mediterranean: this fleet was not ready till the end of June, and the orders were to come out of the Straits by the end of September (2). Every thing was so ill laid in this expedition, as if it had been intended that nothing should be done by it, besides the convoying our merchant ships, which did not require the fourth part of such a force. Sir Cloudefley Shovel was to command, who, when he saw his instructions, represented to the ministry, that nothing could be expected from this voyage: however, he was ordered to go, and he obeyed his orders. He sailed from St. Helen's the first of July, with a fleet of thirty-five English, and seventeen Dutch men of war: he had under him, the vice admirals Fairborne (3) and Leake (4), and rear admiral Byng (5). The Dutch were commanded by admiral Allemonde, with two flags: they had a great number of merchant ships of both nations under their convoy. The fleet appearing off Lisbon rock the twenty-fourth of July, dispelled the fears of the Portuguese of being insulted by a French squadron. Sir Cloudefley Shovel sent Sir Stafford Fairborne to Lisbon, with compliments to the king and queen dowager of Portugal, by whom he was received with great marks of respect and esteem. After the fleet got through the Straits, on the twelfth of August, and water began to be wanted, the admiral stretched over from cape de Gat to cape Horn, in Barbary, sent a boat with a flag of truce, to acquaint the Moors with his design of watering there; but they answered his message with a musket shot, killed one of the boat's crew, and mortally wounded the lieutenant of the Tartar, who commanded the boat, and died two days after. The want of water daily increasing, it was resolved in a council of war to put into Altea, on the coast of Valencia in Spain. The Eagle, commanded by the lord Archibald Hamilton, and the Hampton Court were sent before: but the governour fired upon them with

(2) Idem, p. 534. Hist. of Europe, Burnet and Burchett. (3) Of the red. (4) Of the blue. (5) Of the red.

two guns planted on a tower, which, however, were soon dismounted by these two men of war. In the mean time, the whole fleet came in sight of the place, on the thirty-first of August, and the Flamborough was sent close to the shore to cover the descent of the regiments of marines, who, to the number of two thousand five hundred men, landed under brigadier Seymour without any manner of confusion, and were drawn up in order upon the shore, before half the fleet was come to their anchors. These land forces formed a camp near the place, and a message was sent to the governor, that they did not come as enemies, but friends; to which he answered, "That he had a great esteem for the English, but however he was sorry he was not in a condition to oppose their landing: that he would write to the viceroy of Valencia, and if his orders were such, the admiral must not take it ill, if he should fire upon his men." At the same time the admirals Shovel and Allemonde caused in their names a short manifesto to be published and dispersed among the Spaniards, containing in substance, "That, pursuant to the orders of her majesty of Great Britain and the states general, they did not design to give the least disturbance to the good subjects of Spain, but to protect such of them, who, remembering their ancient obligations to the house of Austria, should swear allegiance to their lawful monarch, the archduke Charles, and endeavour to throw off the yoke of France: and, as they would give their assistance to those of the Spanish nation, that should regard their duty and true interest, so they should destroy the persons, houses, and goods of such, as should oppose the efforts which should be made for the deliverance of that valiant and glorious nation from the tyranny and oppression of France."

The manifesto had no other effect but that the Spaniards seeing no injury was offered them, brought plenty of all refreshments and provisions, for which they were paid in ready money: they professed a great hatred to the French, appeared very well disposed to

to the house of Austria, and drank to the prosperity of the archduke. The fleet being watered, sailed on the third of September for Leghorn, where they arrived on the nineteenth; ten days before, captain Jumper, with the *Lenox*, *Ipswich*, *Hampshire*, and *Dover*, sailed off Formontera, with the Turkey fleet under his command.

One design of this combined fleet of England and Holland in this expedition, was, to endeavour to give some relief to the Cevennois, who had raised an insurrection, in their mountainous country in the south part of Languedoc in France, being mostly of the reformed religion, before the general persecution in the year one thousand six hundred and eighty-five, to the violence of which they were obliged to yield; but most of them had since thrown off the yoke of popery, and returned to their former faith, by means of some zealous ministers, who, notwithstanding the danger to which they exposed themselves, had constantly preached amongst them: their numbers, and the advantageous situation of their country, giving the court of France more jealousy than of all the other protestants in the kingdom, care was taken to curb and oppose them more than any of the rest, and, by continual vexations, to put it out of their power to recover their liberty: to enter further into this particular would be rather foreign to my plan; I must recommend my readers to Cavalier's memoirs (6).

Count Lamberg, the imperial ambassadour at Rome, came on board Sir Cloudefley Shovel's ship, in the road of Leghorn, on the twenty-eighth of September, and acquainted him with the archduke of Austria's having been declared and proclaimed king of Spain at Vienna, by the name of Charles the third, on the twelfth of that month, N. S. upon this, every ship in the English squadron fired fifteen guns, and his catholic majesty's health was drank. Count Lamberg having sent a gentleman, with one of Sir Cloudefley

(6) Also Rapin, Vol. xv. p. 536, in the year 1703.

Shovel's secretaries, to notify the archduke's accession to the Spanish throne to the Dutch admiral Allemonde, he was somewhat surprised, that the imperial minister should not pay him a visit on that account, as he had done the English admiral: however, he ordered all his ships to fire also fifteen guns some hours after, and then count Lamberg went to see him on board.

The arrival of the fleet at Leghorn seemed to be of great consequence, and the allies began to take courage; but they were soon disappointed of their hopes, when they understood, that, by Sir Cloudesley's orders (7), he could only stay a few days there: nor was it easy to imagine, what the design of so great an expedition could be, or why so much money was thrown away on such a project, which made us despised by our enemies, while it provoked our friends, who might justly think they could not depend upon such an ally, who managed so great a force with so wretched a conduct, as neither to hurt their enemies, nor protect their friends by it: the fleet, pursuant to orders, sailed from Leghorn, the second of October: on the sixth, the Pembroke, Exeter, Tartar, Flamborough, and one fire ship, were detached to go to Tunis and Tripoli, to renew the peace with those governments, and thence to proceed to Scanderoon to join captain Jumper: on the eighteenth, rear admiral Byng was sent with another squadron to Algiers, to renew the peace with that regency; and on the twelfth the fleet met with a dreadful storm, but did not suffer much damage, by reason it did not last long: ten days after, Sir Cloudesley, with the remainder of the fleet, came into Altea bay, where several Spaniards openly declared for Charles the third, king of Spain, and offered themselves to serve on board the fleet, which was accepted: having, on the twenty-seventh, passed the Straits of Gibraltar, the admiral ordered Sir Thomas Hardy, with the Bedford, Somerset, and Lizard, to Tangier; and on the thirtieth

(7) Burnet.

the Dutch parted from the English, making the best of their way home. The same day Sir Cloudesley sent five ships under the command of Sir Andrew Lake to Lisbon, and thence to Oporto, Viana, &c. to take under his convoy those merchant ships, which were bound for England; and, having a fair wind, and good weather in his passage, arrived in the Downs on the seventeenth of November. The Orford, Warspite, and Litchfield, which parted from him six days before, met soon after with a French man of war of fifty-two guns and five hundred men, coming from Newfoundland, whom they engaged and took, after an obstinate fight of nine hours.

These fruitless as well as expensive sea expeditions were not the only subjects of complaint, with regard to the fleet: there were many others of great consequence, particularly with respect to the victualling; many seamen were lost, who, as was said, were poisoned by ill food, and, though the victuallers were much complained of before the fleet went out, yet there was not such care taken to look into it, as a matter of such importance deserved: the merchants also complained that they were ill served with convoys, and so little care had been taken of the Newcastle fleet, that the price of coals were very high: it was also said, that there was not a due care had of our seamen, that were taken of the privateers; many of them died by reason of their ill usage, while others, to deliver themselves from that, went into the French service. Thus all our marine affairs were much out of order, and these disorders were charged on those, who were in the management of affairs. It is certain, that, in the beginning of this reign, all those, who hated the late king and his government, or had been dismissed the service by him, were sought out, and invited into employments; so it was not to be expected, that they could be faithful or cordial in the war against France.

Mons Calpe, Gebal Tharek, the present Gibraltar, in this year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and four, came under

the protection of Great Britain, when the British flag was triumphant, and her forces had almost conquered all Spain, and more than once had forced the king from his capital; and would have established the house of Austria on the throne, had not the disagreement of the generals (8), and the fatal battle of Almanza (lost by the Portuguese giving way) prevented it. Whilst the land forces were acting, the fleet were not idle; for Charles the third, king of Spain, being at this time in England, and very desirous of prosecuting his voyage to Lisbon (9), went to Portsmouth, where Sir George Rooke, who was to command the fleet that escorted him, and the land forces intended for his service, did every thing that could be expected to facilitate the expedition: he sailed on the twelfth of February, and arrived with the squadron and all the transports in the river of Lisbon on the twenty-fifth. On the ninth of March the admiral put to sea, and continued cruising for a month: after that, being joined by a large squadron under admiral Dilkes, whom he had detached for the same purpose off cape Spartel, at the entrance of the Straits of Gibraltar, Sir George signified to the prince of Hesse, who had the chief direction of his catholic majesty's affairs, that could the troops which were to make the attempt on Barcelona, be speedily embarked, he was content to escort them, and to give all imaginable countenance to his majesty's affairs in Catalonia. In compliance with this offer, he sailed accordingly with the transports under his convoy, and on the eighteenth of May arrived before the city of Barcelona: a priest and some others surrendered themselves, and informed the prince of Hesse, that should some few forces be landed, and a shew made of a bombardment, they would declare for king Charles the third, and receive him into the town: upon this, there landed on the nineteenth of May, about twelve hundred marines, four hundred Dutch foot, a company of Cata-

(8) Impartial History of the management of the war abroad, by the ministry at home.

(9) Molyneux's Conjoint Expedition.

ians, and as many volunteers as made up the whole two thousand men. They remained on shore all night, and the prince finding nothing done, notwithstanding the Dutch had bombarded the place with some effect, his highness himself proposed the re-embarking his men, from an apprehension of being attacked by a superiour force.

On the twenty-first of May, the admiral steered for the isles of Hieres; on the twenty-seventh, they had sight of a large French squadron, which they rightly judged to be sailing for Toulon; therefore it was resolved to chace them thither, and should it be impossible to prevent their getting into that port, then to sail for Lisbon, in order to wait for a reinforcement, which was joined two days after by Sir Cloudesley Shovel, with the squadron off Lagos. A council of war was then called, in order to consider what service should be undertaken: several schemes were proposed, particularly a second attack on Cadiz, which was soon found to be impracticable, for want of a sufficient number of land forces. At this council of war, the admiral also was pleased to declare, that he was limited by his instructions from attempting any thing without the consent of the kings of Spain and Portugal, which was a discouragement to the service, as those princes could very seldom agree to any thing; so that, except sending some ships to the Terceras, in order to protect the homeward bound Brazil fleet, there was nothing done, which ought to be considered as the consequence of this order. Sir George Rooke, (being very sensible, says Mr. Molyneux, of the reflections that would fall upon him, if, having so considerable a fleet under his command, he spent the summer in doing nothing of importance) called a council of war on the seventeenth of July, in the road of Tetuan, where having declared he thought it requisite they should resolve upon something, after a long debate, it was carried to make a sudden and vigorous attempt upon Gibraltar, for three reasons; First, Because in the condition the place then was, there was some probability of taking

it, which, in case it had been properly provided, and had in it a numerous garrison, would have been impossible: Secondly, Because the possession of that place was of infinite importance during the present war: Thirdly, Because the taking this place would give a lustre to the queen's arms, and possibly dispose the Spaniards to favour the cause of king Charles.

The fleet, in pursuance of this resolution, got into the bay of Gibraltar on the twenty-first of July; so much for this gentleman; but as Sir George Rooke lies greatly under the censure of bishop Burnet's pen, I shall, for the satisfaction of my readers, before I proceed with the attack upon that important fortress to Great Britain, give a short account from Rapin, who has followed Burnet: Sir George Rooke, says he (1), sailed into the Straits, where he reckoned he was strong enough for the Toulon squadron, which was then abroad in the Mediterranean. Soon after that, a strong squadron from Brest passed by Lisbon into the Straits. Mr. Methuen, the English ambassador in Portugal, apprehending, that, if these two squadrons should join to attack Sir George Rooke, it would not be possible for him to fight against so great a force, sent a man of war, which that admiral had left at Lisbon, with some particular orders, which made the captain very unwilling to carry the message; but the ambassador promised to indemnify him. The captain sailed through the French fleet, and brought this important information to Sir George Rooke, who told him, that on this occasion he would pass by his not observing his orders, but that, for the future, he would find the safest course to obey orders: upon this, Sir George Rooke stood out of the way of the French towards the mouth of the Straits, and there met Sir Cloudesley Shovel, with a squadron of our best ships, with which being reinforced, he sailed up the Straits again, being now in a condition to engage the French: he came before Barcelona, where the

(1) Rapin, Vol. xvi. p. 44, in the year 1704.

prince of Hesse-Darmstadt assured him, there was a strong party ready to declare for king Charles, as it was certain there was a disposition in many to do it: but Sir George would not stay above three days before that city; so that the motions within the town, and the discoveries which many made of their inclinations, had almost proved fatal to them: he answered, when pressed to stay a few days more, that his orders were positive, and that he must sail to Nice, which it was believed the French intended to besiege; but, as he was sailing that way, he received advice, that the French had made no advances in that design, and therefore he turned his course westward, and came in sight of the French fleet, sailing from Brest to Toulon. The advantage, which he had, was so visible, that it was expected he would have made towards the enemy, but he did not: what orders he had was not known, for the matter never came under examination. The French got to Toulon, and he steered another way. The whole French fleet was then together in that harbour; for though the Toulon squadron had been out before, it was then in port. A very happy incident had preserved a rich fleet of merchant ships from Scanderoon under the convoy of three or four frigates, from falling into their hands. The French fleet was in their way in the bay of Tunis, and nothing could have saved them from being taken, but that which happened in the critical minute, in which they needed it. A thick fog covered them all the while that they were sailing by that bay, so that they had no apprehension of the danger they were in, till they had passed it.

Monfieur Vertot, in his revolutions of Spain, tells us, that notwithstanding prince D'Armstadt had failed in his enterprize upon Barcelona, yet he gave not over holding private correspondence there, with some factious persons, several of whom the viceroy secured, and reinforced the garrison; and with the assistance of the succours brought him by the count de Thoulouse, admiral of France, he so quieted the city, that prince D'Armstadt, not daring
to

to make another attempt on that place the same campaign, entertained thoughts of possessing himself of Gibraltar. As difficult as that enterprize appeared to be, he yet pushed it on with such resolution, that he carried his point. The principal articles of the capitulation were, "That the garrison should march out with
 " their arms and baggage, and the officers with their horses: that
 " they should carry away three pieces of brass cannon, with powder
 " and ball for twelve discharges: that they should have bread,
 " wine, and flesh for six days march: that the baggage of the officers should not be searched: that the place should be evacuated
 " within three days: that some carriages should be provided to
 " carry off the most necessary things, and that they might send
 " afterwards for the rest: that all the inhabitants, officers, or
 " soldiers, who were willing to remain in the town, should enjoy
 " the same privileges they had enjoyed under king Charles the second: that religion, and the courts of justice, &c. should remain as they had been before, upon condition that they should
 " take an oath of allegiance to Charles the third: that they should
 " discover to the allies the magazines of powder, and all other warlike stores, provisions, and arms that were in the place."

The French, who had not been naturalized in Spain, were excluded from this capitulation, and made prisoners of war.

I shall now give Mr. Rapin's account of the affair: Sir George Rooke, says my author, fell in upon Gibraltar (2), which, in a council of war, held July the seventeenth, about seven leagues to the eastward of Tetuan, it was resolved to attack: four days after, the fleet got into the bay, and one thousand eight hundred marines, English and Dutch, with the prince of Hesse-D'Armstadt at their head, were put on shore, on the neck of land to the northward of the town, to cut off any communication with the country. The prince having posted his men, sent a summons to

(2) Idem, p. 45, from the Hist. of Europe.

the governour to surrender the place for the service of his catholic majesty; which he refusing, the admiral the next day gave orders, that the ships which had been appointed to cannonade the town, under the command of rear admiral Byng, and rear admiral Vanderdussen, as also those which were to batter the south mole head, commanded by captain Hicks in the Yarmouth, should range themselves accordingly: but the wind blowing contrary, they could not possibly get into their places till the day was spent: in the mean time, to amuse the enemy, captain Whitaker was sent in with some boats, who burnt the French privateer of twelve guns, at the old mole. On the twenty-third, soon after break of day, the ships being all placed, the admiral gave the signal for beginning the cannonade, which was performed with very great fury, about fifteen thousand shot being made in five or six hours time against the town, so that the enemy were soon driven from their guns, especially from the south mole head: whereupon the admiral considering, that by gaining that fortification, they should of consequence reduce the town, ordered captain Whitaker, with all the boats armed, to endeavour to possess himself of it, which was performed with great expedition: but captain Hicks and captain Jumper, who lay next the mole, had pushed on shore with their pinnaces and some other boats, before the rest could come up: whereupon the enemy sprung a mine, which blew up the fortification about the mole, killed two lieutenants, and about forty men, and wounded about sixty: however, our men kept possession of the great platform, of which they had made themselves masters, and, captain Whitaker landing with the rest of the seamen, who had been ordered upon this service, they advanced, took a redoubt or small bastion, half way between the mole and the town, and possessed themselves of many of the enemy's cannon; upon which the governour desired to capitulate, and surrendered upon honourable terms. This fact, says Mr. Rapin, is related by an eminent historian, (Burnet) with these circumstances,

stances, that, after the admiral had bombarded the town to very little purpose, and with little hopes of success, some bold men ventured to go ashore in a place, where it was not thought possible to climb up the rocks, and yet they succeeded in it; and, when they had got up, they saw all the women of the town were come out according to their superstition, to a chapel there, to implore the virgin Mary's protection: they seized on them, and that contributed not a little to dispose those in the town to surrender, which they did on the twenty-fourth, and they had leave to stay, or go as they pleased, and, in case they staid, they were assured of protection in their religion and every thing else, for the prince of Hesse, who was to be their governour, was a papist: but they all went away with the small garrison, that had defended the place. The prince of Hesse, with the marines, who were on board the fleet, possessed himself of the place; and they were furnished out of the stores, that went with the fleet, with every thing that was necessary for their subsistence and defence; and a regular method was laid down of supplying them constantly from Lisbon.

So much for this account: I shall now, from various authors, relate this beneficial and happy conquest, and endeavour to give every person their due, who shared in the glorious enterprize.

Those brave seamen and marines commanded by the gallant prince of Hesse, Sir George Rooke (3), rear admiral Byng, Sir Cloudesley Shovel, Sir John Leake, Sir Thomas Wishart, the Dutch admirals Collingberg, Wassenaer, and Vanderdussen, did on the seventeenth of July, one thousand seven hundred and four, hold a council of war (4) on board the Royal Catharine, wherein it was resolved to attack Gibraltar by sea and land. The fleet accordingly steered for the bay of Gibraltar, and came to an anchor there. On the twenty-first, two thousand marines (Lediard, Rappin, Claude du Bosc (5), Molyneux, and others, say but eighteen

(3) The Life and Reign of queen Anne.

(4) Lediard's Naval History.

(5) Claude du Bosc's Military History, Vol. 1. p. 350.

hundred)

hundred) commanded by the prince of Hesse, landed on the isthmus (6) and near Europa point (7): a summons was then sent to the governor to surrender the town, which summons he slighted: his answer was, "That being entrusted with the place by his natural lord and king Philip the fifth, he should make a very ill return for the honour done him, if he gave up the place to his enemies without making any defence (8);" or, as Molyneux has it, "He would defend the place to the last (9)."

The admiral then gave the signal at break of day to batter the works, under the brave admiral Byng and Vanderdussen, with twelve third rates (1), four fourth rates, and six ships of the Dutch: and also those commanded by captain Hicks to batter the south mole head: accordingly, on the twenty-third, the cannonading commenced, and continued with great fury against the works for five or six hours: this was performed with such vigour, that fifteen thousand shot were expended (2); which beat the enemy from their guns, especially at the south mole head (3). When Sir George Rooke perceived that the works were abandoned at the south mole head, and that should he be once possessed of those works, the town must be taken of course; he ordered captain Whitaker to arm all the boats and to attempt to make himself master of those fortifications over the mole, which was accordingly performed with great expedition (4). Captain Hicks and captain Jumper, whose ships lay nearest the mole, upon the signals being thrown out, pushed on shore first, with their pinnaces, and actually had availed themselves of those fortifications before the rest of the arm boats could land; by reason of their further distance to row. The Spaniards seeing this, sprung a mine, by which, two lieutenants and forty men were blown up, with the fortifica-

(6) Lediard's Naval Hist. (7) Impartial enquiry into the management of the war abroad, by the ministry at home. (8) Claude du Bosc's Mil. Hist. Vol. I. p. 350. (9) Molyneux's Conjunction Exped. (1) Lediard's Naval Hist. (2) Idem. Molyneux. Claude du Bosc, &c. (3) Life and Reign of queen Anne. Led. Naval Hist. Molyneux, &c. (4) Idem.

tion of the mole, and sixty more men, by the blast, were wounded: however, these wounded men, with some few more who escaped the effects of the explosion, kept possession of the platform, till they were sustained by captain Whitaker landing with the rest of the seamen, who were under his command. The whole then advanced, and very soon made themselves masters of a small redoubt, which was a bastion of eight guns, between the mole and the south bastion of the town; and possessed themselves of many of the enemy's artillery, on the line wall to the southward of the town.

Sir George Rooke then sent a letter to the governour, and at the same time the prince of Hesse sent him a summons to surrender the city instantly: accordingly on the four and twentieth, Gibraltar capitulated; and hostages being exchanged, and the capitulation concluded, then did the prince of Hesse with the marines take possession of the land and north mole gates (water port) and the out-works which were the lines as then fortified.

As this design, says Molyneux, was continued by the admirals, so it was executed entirely by the seamen, therefore the honour of it is due to them: however, continues this gentleman, nothing could have enabled the seamen to take the place, but the cannonading it in such a manner, as obliged the Spaniards to quit their posts: that the general officers who viewed the fortifications after the place was in our hands, declared, that they might have been defended by fifty men, against as many thousands. The French indeed say, (continues Molyneux) in order to diminish, as much as possible, the glory of this action, that the Spaniards had neither garrison or guns there; but that this is far from being true, since there were more than a hundred brass cannon mounted: that after putting as many men as could be spared into the place, under the command of the prince of Hesse, the fleet sailed to Tetuan, in order to take in wood and water (5).

(5) Campbell's Naval Hist. Vol. III. p. 400. Marquis de Quincy. Histoire Militaire, Tom. IV. p. 403.

The seamen's attack is allowed by all authors to have been the boldest and most difficult that ever was made (6), being obliged to climb up precipices to come at the enemy, whose works were defended by a hundred pieces of ordnance, facing the sea, and the narrow neck of land, and were well supplied with ammunition; and although the second boat's detachment saw most of the first blown up; yet they undauntedly pushed forward, and at the first assault took possession of the out-works, on that side the town next the bay, whilst the marines made their attack with equal bravery on the land side; by doing of which, they both gained immortal honour: but that which facilitated the surrendering the town, were the female captives, who were gone out, as Burnet rightly observes, according to their superstition to a chapel at Europa, there to implore the virgin's protection: these were seized by the sailors so soon as they had climbed up the rocks at Europa, which was a very great inducement to the citizens to oblige the governour to surrender.

Notwithstanding the works were strong and well appointed with cannon and ammunition, yet the garrison at most consisted but of one hundred and fifty soldiers; what number of inhabitants the city contained able to bear arms, is no where told. Claude du Bosc (7) says, there were but between fourscore and a hundred; surely, he must have been misinformed, for the French privateer's hands, which was burnt, would have nearly, if not quite, amounted to fourscore: however, the neglect of not having a proper garrison, is a proper warning for posterity; and I believe the Spaniards will never forget it, at least, so long as Gibraltar remains under the government of the present possessors: besides, at the time when the allies took it, that garrison was looked upon as a conquest of so great importance, that without it we should not have been able to carry the war on in the Medi-

(6) Life and Reign of queen Anne.

(7) Mil. Hist, p. 351.

terranean sea: however, Claude du Bosc and others tell us, that it has been allowed by persons of great judgment, that fifty men (I suppose they mean regulars, to conduct the inhabitants) might have defended the works against ten thousand; but that the bravery of our seamen was beyond example. Mr. Anderson, in his historical and chronological deduction of the origin of commerce, &c. (8) speaking of the fluctuating state of things in the time of war, observes, that two very great pieces of good fortune happened to the grand allies, before this year of one thousand seven hundred and four ended, viz. says he: first, the famous and most complete victory of the confederate army, on the thirteenth of August at Blenheim or Hockstadt, over the French and Bavarian army; on which it may be truly said, the fate and liberty of Europe, as well as more particularly of Germany, in a great measure depended: and, secondly, the taking of the most important fortress and port of Gibraltar: both which gave a most marvelous turn to public affairs all over Europe, and particularly to England's hopes and public credit. Gibraltar having been confirmed to Great Britain by the peace of Utrecht, has proved of very signal advantage to us; as it is not only a bridle on most of the Christian states with whom we may be at war, but also a sure station for our ships of war, a safe retreat in war for our merchant ships, a refreshing place for both, and a curb on the piratical states of the opposite Barbary shores. In every view, therefore, highly meriting all the expence we can bestow for preserving it in our sure possession. It was also thought so dangerous a thorn in the side of Spain, that the French and Spaniards formally besieged it in October this same year, but it was twice seasonably relieved: and the like happened again in the year one thousand seven hundred and twenty-seven, since which its fortifications have been much improved. So much for this gentleman: but to return.

(8) Anderson on Commerce, Vol. II. p. 242.

Mr. Lediard, who takes notice in his note (H) of bishop Burnet, says, he is upon all occasions pretty forward in speaking to the disadvantage of Sir George Rooke, and will hardly allow him any merit in taking this important place.

“Rooke, says the bishop, in the foregoing sheets, that he
“might seem to attempt somewhat, fell upon Gibraltar, where
“he spent much powder in bombarding (or rather cannonading,
“though he might have flung in some shells) it to very little
“purpose, though there was no reason to hope that he should
“succeed. Some bold men ventured to go ashore in a place,
“where it was not thought possible to climb up the rocks, yet
“they succeeded in it. When they had got up, they saw all the
“women of the town were come out, according to their super-
“stition, to a chapel, there to implore the virgin’s protection;
“they seized on them, and that contributed not a little to engage
“those in the town to surrender.”

The circumstance, that the admiral fell upon Gibraltar, makes me giddy, to conceive the height Sir George Rooke must have soared, to have pounced so fortunately upon so glorious a prey. As for the ships of war’s tremendous fire they kept up, and the driving the enemy from their guns, with the method then taken by Sir George’s orders, proves plainly the way those gallant sailors took that place; for the Spaniards were driven from their platforms in the fort, which commanded the mole, as well as the south mole head; otherwise, had the mine been sprung out of the fort on the mole, the enemy from the fort would have drove the boats back, and have killed every man who were in possession of the platform on the west end of the south mole head; because the fort looks down upon the said mole, the enemy therefore were driven out of the above fort, into which the sailors had got by an escalade.

The circumstance, says Lediard, of some bold men climbing up the rocks, I find mentioned by no historian but the bishop:
but,

but, says he, I have spoken with some myself, who have preterded at least to have been of the number.

Now, not to deviate from these two gentlemen, I am of opinion, that there neither wanted either courage, conduct, or fortune in the reduction of this very important port: for the two hundred men, which Lediard, and other authors do not mention, landed a little to the eastward of Europa point; and where were some fishermen's huts, near to the sea side, and which was easy to ascend, from boats up to the rocky plain at a small distance from Europa chapel, where all the women were at their invocations to our lady of Europa: these two hundred marines, then, having climbed up this fisherman's uneven, rugged path, seized those females at the critical juncture when the seamen had taken possession of the new mole fort; which, in a French plan, printed at Paris after the siege of one thousand seven hundred and twenty-seven, is called fort des Anglois. The climbing up at Europa, must have been the place where the bishop points, which does not lessen the bravery of the seamen's attack upon the mole and fort: these men making their appearance with their female captives, at the critical minute when the mine was sprung, intimidated those Spaniards and French, who should have repossessed themselves of the platform in the fort; and considering the consternation occasioned by the blast to the assailants, they might have easily accomplished, as the ships of war could not fire upon the work where the remainder of the seamen were in possession, without the danger of destroying the remainder of those brave men, who remained among the ruins, the dead, and the wounded. And what further confirms this, is, that the second detachment with captain Whitaker immediately landed, and seized the redoubt, under the fire of the town, being about half way from the fort, and the south bastion.

The reader may recollect, that there were several Spaniards on board the fleet, who, in all probability, pointed out to Sir George Rooke,

Rooke, or to the prince of Hesse D'Armstadt, the fishermen's tract at Europa, which has been made inaccessible by being scarped since we have been in possession of that place: however, I cannot believe that the works were so strong as some would make us believe, from the following story given us by Mr. Robertson (9): this gentleman relates, that the English fleet, under the command of Sir George Rooke, and Sir Thomas Hopson, who were conveying a very large fleet of merchant ships, towards the Mediterranean, fell in with the French under the command of admiral Tourville. The English admiral gave the signal for the merchantmen to shift for themselves; and, amongst others, four heavy laden Turkey men, namely the Chandois, the Italian Merchant, the Asia, and the Loyalty, stood away for the Spanish ports, and put into the bay of Gibraltar, where the commanders of the Turkey ships, being hindered from prosecuting their voyage by some dissention aboard, and the fear of the French fleet, thought proper to fortify themselves: for this purpose, the commanders posted the four ships in a line within the new mole, which stretches to the N. W. with their broadsides flanking towards the north, or entrance into the mole; the ships were unrigged, and consequently having no sails to manage, they turned all hands to the cannon, bringing as many as they conveniently could, to bear on one side. On the S. E. end of the mole, or land side, was a castle, in which was mounted ten small cannon; four pointing into the bay, towards the west, three commanding the mole, and the others flanking the N. E. shore. Opposite to the mole head was a kind of redan, (the eight gun battery) very advantageously built to flank the entrance into the new mole; but neither on this, nor the mole head, had the Spaniards any cannon: from the castle, there ran northward a line of communication, or a strong stone wall, to the south end of the town, where was a

(9) Robertson's Marine Fortification, p. 669.

battery of cannon; but too far from the mole to be of any service in defending it. The English stretched a cable from the mole head to the redan, the ends being bent to two sheet anchors, and to this cable they lashed their spare-yards and top-masts. Upon the mole head were planted six of the Chandois's guns to flank the boom, and this battery was committed to the care of some English seamen, who behaved themselves extremely well. The commanders intended to have planted some guns at the other end of the boom upon the redan, but being obliged to go through the castle, the draw-bridge broke, and down went the first gun that came upon it, into a ditch forty feet deep, with some of the Chandois's men; by this it may be judged in what condition the Spanish works and garrison were. This was the posture of things, when the French came into the bay with fourteen or sixteen men of war, and two bomb ketches; and standing within shot of the castle, the Spaniards shewed their dexterity in managing their ordnance, by firing about one shot in half an hour. The commanders perceiving their awkwardness sent a quarter master from on board the Chandois, and the gunner's mate of the Loyalty, to their assistance, and some dozen of cartouches; but, through want of judgment in the Spaniards, they were both blown up. All this time not a ship could bring a gun to bear; and so without any damage passed by into the bay, where they anchored. In the afternoon they sent down two men of war, to view in what posture the ships were: as soon as they came within shot, the enemy fired briskly at them, but before many broadsides were returned, they stood away to their squadron, and continued quiet that day: next morning a ship of upwards of fifty guns came towards the boom, and it proving calm when she came within gun-shot, there was very brisk firing on both sides, on which she endeavoured to tow off; but her boats were sunk from the battery on the mole head, and had not boats come from the squadron to her assistance, she had entirely been sunk, having above one hundred

hundred cannon playing upon her from the English: the enemy finding such entertainment provided for them before the boom, sent off four men of war, and the two bomb ketches, who lying to the southward of the mole, and firing over it, raked the English fore and aft, who, on account of their former disposition, could not bring one gun to bear upon the enemy, neither from the four ships, nor from the mole: under these circumstances, the commanders judged it best to sink the ships: in the evening the French stood out of the bay, and the next day stood in again, and having posted some more men of war, and their two bomb ketches against the castle and mole, they sent in a store vessel which they had converted into a fire ship, and burnt the upper works of three sinking ships; for the Italian Merchant's fore-castle being under water, saved the Chandois: so that it is plain, that the works were in very bad repair, not long before we took it, and as badly provided with cannon, and would have been worse had not the guns belonging to these four ships remained on their works; for what could a hundred pieces of ordnance have sufficed for so vast an extent, as from Europa, round the whole sea line, and on the works facing the isthmus? as to the garrison, it is plain by the first, fourth, and fifth articles of capitulation, there were both officers and soldiers, who were Spaniards; and by the seventh article, they had several French in that fortress: but as their numbers are no where told, we must remain in the dark: supposing, then, there were a hundred and fifty Spanish regulars, and a hundred and fifty French, which is not impossible, if we include the privateers hands, burnt in the mole, of twelve carriage guns, we have three hundred effective men: now when we consider Gibraltar was a great, friendly, and trading port, we may conclude there were several tartans, poluccas, and xebecks, behind the old mole, so that one hundred more may be added; making in all four hundred.

The town contained twelve hundred houses, one parish church, three monasteries of friars, one of nuns, and two hospitals: now, supposing one man in each house, able to bear arms, the garrison under their governor, the marquis de Salines, consisted of a body of one thousand six hundred men, a force sufficient to have held out against the allies, had their conduct and courage been equal to their strength: for we shall find, by and by, that at a particular time, the British forces in that garrison consisted of but three weak battalions, when attacked by the enemy, and the town full of Spaniards, with several officers of that country, who resided in that place: and yet they baffled all the sanguine hopes and expectations of the Spanish nation.

I shall conclude this chapter with the articles of capitulation, which were in substance as follows:

I. That the garrison, officers, and soldiers, says Lediard, may depart with necessary arms and baggage; and the officers and other gentlemen of the town may also carry their horses with them, and may likewise have what boats they may have occasion for.

II. That they may take out of the garrison three pieces of brass cannon of different weight, and twelve charges of powder and ball.

III. That they may take provisions of bread, sweet wine, and flesh for six days march.

IV. That none of the officers baggage be searched, though it be carried out in carts or trunks: that the garrison depart in three days, and such of their necessaries as they can carry out with convenience; the rest may remain in the garrison, and be afterwards sent for; and that they shall have liberty to make use of some carts.

V. That such inhabitants and soldiers and officers of the town as are willing to remain, shall have the same privileges they enjoyed

joyed in the time of Charles the second; and their religion and tribunal shall remain untouched, upon condition that they take an oath of fidelity to king Charles the third.

VI. That they shall discover all their magazines of powder and ammunition, provisions and arms that may be in the city.

VII. That all the French, and subjects of the French king are excluded from any part of the capitulation, and all their effects shall remain at our disposal, and their persons prisoners of war.

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
HERCULEAN STRAITS.
BOOK III.

CHAPTER I.

BATTLE OF MALAGA; THE FRENCH AND SPANIARDS LAY
SIEGE TO GIBRALTAR, ETC.

THUS far have I endeavoured to collect a just and impartial account of Mons Calpe, or Calpeia; Gebel Tharek, or Gibraltar, from the earliest account, to its surrendering to Sir George Rooke, and the prince of Hesse D'Armstadt: the place was soon found to be of such importance, as gave great uneasiness to the Spanish nation, as well as thirst of glory to regain what would in a great measure forward the subjection of Spain, either to the house of Austria or Bourbon, as a judicious author has rightly observed, "That without it, we could not have been able to carry on the war in the Mediterranean (1)." The allied fleet remained but a short time inactive after their reducing this important fortress, the key of the Mediterranean; for on the twelfth of August, one thousand seven hundred and four, Sir George Rooke came up with the enemies fleet in the evening at

(1) Impartial enquiry into the management of the war abroad, by the ministry at home.

Malaga, commanded by the count de Thoulouse, and on the thirteenth, in the morning the engagement began: at the first onset, the enemy shewed a good deal of courage, but it soon flagged, say my authors (2), for had they continued it, they know not, they say, what might have been the consequence: the confederate fleet having expended great quantities of their ammunition upon Gibraltar, which obliged many of the ships to go out of the line before the battle was over: but it appears the remnant left was so effectually made use of, during the time they engaged in the line, as to occasion the enemies vanguard to give way about two in the afternoon; and they continued a running fight till the evening: so that the action began at ten in the morning, and continued without the least intermission, as well as with great fury, till two in the afternoon (3): the English had six hundred and ninety-five men killed, with two captains, says this last author, and six hundred and sixty-three wounded: and the Dutch had four hundred killed and wounded: but that the loss of the French was out of all proportion, by their own accounts.

Certain it is, this famous battle of Malaga decided the empire of the sea, and left us and the Dutch an indisputable claim to the title of maritime powers; for the French avoided us ever after, and never dared to venture a battle on that element, during the remainder of that war (4).

I shall now proceed, as I have begun; but before I relate this engagement from the continuation of Mr. Rapin, shall set forth monsieur Vertot's account of the engagement off Malaga. The court of Madrid, says this author (5), was greatly concerned at the loss of that important place, (Gibraltar) and its recovery being of the last consequence, the marquis de Villadarias was ordered to march thither to form the siege, and accordingly after

(2) Life and Reign of queen Anne; and Lediard's Naval Hist. (3) Claude du Bose's Mil. Hist. p. 352. (4) Molyneux. Campbell's Naval Hist. Vol. III. p. 403. (5) Vertot's Revolutions of Spain.

having

having demolished Portalegre and Castel David to save the expence of leaving garrisons in them, he directed his march towards Andalusia.

While he was making the necessary preparations for the siege of Gibraltar, the count de Thoulouse, who was gone aboard again to give chase to the English fleet, consisting at that time of fifty sail, appeared before Velez Malaga in order to water: no sooner had he cast anchor, than the frigates which he had sent to look out, gave him notice by the usual signal, that the enemy was drawing near, with a fair gale: he immediately commanded all the ships to be in readiness; but the sea being very calm, he ordered the gallies to tow them out to sea; and having placed his fleet in order of battle, he advanced boldly towards the enemy, who seemed no less disposed to engage than himself, and it may very well be said, that a more obstinate or more bloody dispute than this naval fight has scarce been seen: it began at ten in the forenoon, north and south from Malaga, ten or eleven leagues off at sea, and continued till night: the fire on both sides was excessively furious, and notwithstanding the confederates had the advantage of the wind, as they possibly could, yet the count de Thoulouse made all the sail he was able to come up close with them: the marquis de Velette, lieutenant-general, who commanded the vanguard, having for his second line the duke de Turfis with seven gallies of his squadron, and five of Spain, fell so furiously upon the enemy, that he had already much shattered their vanguard, and forced five of their ships to quit the line, when a bomb falling upon his poop, to which it set fire, obliged him to make off in order to extinguish it: another bomb fell on the fleur de Belleisle's ship, which likewise quitted the line to refit, as did the ships of the chevaliers de Grancey and d'Ossmont, and of the fleurs de Roucroy, de Pontac, and de la Roche-Allard. The last of these captains, notwithstanding the ship he commanded had but sixty guns, fought, and had the advantage of that on which

which Sir Cloudesley Shovel was aboard, carrying ninety guns. Chammeffin thrice boarded one of the enemy's ships, but quitted it, perceiving it had taken fire in several places. The fight ended in the van about five in the evening, in the center towards seven, but the rear held it till near night. The allies having lost near six thousand men, fled, and the French pursued them with all their lanthorns lighted, whereas the enemy had none but only on their flag ships. The wind shifting again to the west, the confederate fleet made off for the coast of Barbary, insomuch that, as night drew on, the French quite lost sight of them: the next morning they saw them again at about four leagues distance, carefully evading a second engagement: from that time they could hear no further news of them, so that the count de Thoulouse, supposing that they had quitted the Mediterranean, gave over the pursuit and returned.

France had all the advantage in that memorable action, whatsoever the allies have given out to deprive our nation of that honour. We lost not above fifteen hundred men, either killed or wounded: among the slain were the bailiff of Lorrain, commodore of a squadron, the sieurs de Belleisle and de Troard, the chevaliers de Lanion, de Gemeaux, de Goneiron, de la Roche, and de Vefancay, captains; Talon, commissary of the marine; Brodo, captain of a frigate; Bouffet, Soumabre, du Lut, Fricambault, Beaufort, and Tesse, lieutenants; Imbleval, Martel, the chevalier de Chateau Renaud, son to the marshal of that name, Galfiez, and Boulemvilliers, ensigns: the count de Thoulouse had two pages killed very near him, and was himself wounded, as was lieutenant-general Relingues, whose leg being shot off in the battle, he died some days after at Malaga: the marquis de Herbant intendant of the navy, died also of his wounds. The other persons of the greatest note, who were wounded, were du Casle commodore of a squadron, Chateau Renaud, the count de Philippeaux, and Gubaret, captains of ships, and the admiral's secretary, Valincourt. The

The account of this sea fight, as given us by the authors of the *Modern Universal History*, is as follows (6) : the fleet of the allies, under the command of Sir George Rooke, having the prince of D'Armstadt on board, and between three and four thousand regular troops, made an attempt upon Barcelona ; but, through the care of the viceroy don Francisco de Velasco, it proved ineffectual. They sailed from the coast of Catalonia in the beginning of June, and, about two months after, appeared before Gibraltar, which was furiously cannonaded. The prince of D'Armstadt, with his troops, were landed on the isthmus ; but the place was taken by the courage of the English seamen, under the command of the captains Whitaker and Jumper ; and indeed it was no great wonder, the garrison consisting but of one hundred men (7). The prince of D'Armstadt was left with a strong garrison ; and the fleet, on the twenty-fourth of August, engaged at a small distance from Malaga, the navy of France, commanded by the count de Thoulouse. Both sides claimed the victory, to which neither had a clear title ; but it was afterwards known that Sir George Rooke had so little ammunition, that his obliging the French fleet to retire added as much to his reputation as the most signal victory would have done, if it had been gained before the taking of Gibraltar (8).

The same authors say (9), in the Mediterranean the combined crowns were so unfortunate as to lose Gibraltar, a fortress deemed impregnable ; but the count de Thoulouse, high admiral of France, had the glory of engaging for several hours a superiour fleet of the enemy, commanded by Sir George Rooke, without sustaining a defeat. It redounds indeed, continues this history, but little to

(6) *Mod. Univ. Hist.* Vol. xxi. B. xix. c. i. p. 498. (7) Burnet's History of his own times. Quincy. *Historie Militaire de Louis xiv.* *Memoires historiques & chronologiques*, Lamberti *Memoires*, Tom. iii. p. 324. (8) Quincy. Burnet. *Le Siecle de Louis xiv.* par Mr. Voltaire. (9) *Mod. Univ. Hist.* Vol. xxv. B. xix. c. iv. p. 162.

the honour of the French king that he publicly claimed the victory, and published such an account of the action, as proves that he was reduced to the mean necessity of deceiving his subjects, by false and partial representations.

The count de Thoulouse, upon going off, left the baron de Pointis with a squadron to cruize at the mouth of the Straits, and to favour the siege of Gibraltar, which, as we observed, had been resolved. Notwithstanding all the diligence he used, he could not possibly prevent the English admiral from reinforcing the garrison with two thousand men, and furnishing them with provisions and ammunition for a long siege. Prince D'Armstadt himself undertook the defence of that place: baron Pointis had orders to furnish with cannon and three thousand men the marquis de Villadarias, whose forces were too small to reduce that important place: in order to second that general's operations, he entered the bay with his squadron, consisting of sixteen sail, and after having landed, made a shew of keeping the town blocked up by sea, while the marquis de Villadarias carried on the attacks: the project was really good, but as a vigorous sally made by prince D'Armstadt occasioned its miscarriage, frustrated all the great expectations of the besiegers; and that which extremely weakened them, was baron Pointis's sending some of his ships to Cadiz to convoy the galleons which were to sail for the West Indies: in the mean time, Sir John Leake, whom prince D'Armstadt had called to his assistance, arrived with thirty English and Dutch men of war of the line of battle, and nine frigates: he entered the bay, where baron Pointis had left five frigates, under the command of the marquis de Gaberet, while he went himself to confer with the marquis de Villadarias, who finding himself furiously attacked, and being unable to withstand the enemy, caused the cannon and men of four of his five frigates to be set ashore, and while the fifth made away, sunk them to prevent their being taken by the enemy.

Not-

Notwithstanding that disappointment, the marquis de Villadarias very successfully pushed on the siege: but when he was just ready to give the assault to fort Du Paté, the marshal de Tessé had orders to participate with him the honour of that conquest; which so far raised that general's jealousy, that he prevented him by an attack he made quite out of season, so that he missed his aim, and was the occasion of the loss of a great number of men, among whom upwards of six hundred French officers are reckoned to have lost their lives: perhaps that number may seem somewhat stretched, but so it was reported when the marshal came to the camp; and we can affirm, that being there ourselves at the same time, we heard it avowed several times: be that as it will, after that action the siege went on very slowly, and was raised at length to the great regret of the two crowns, which, during the whole course of the war, were not able to undertake it again; so that Gibraltar has ever since continued in the hands of the English, who look upon the possession of that place as so valuable and advantageous a security for their commerce, that, notwithstanding, by the quadruple alliance the king of England engaged to restore it to the Spaniards, it is stiffly opposed by the parliament: it was a mortification to the Spaniards to have such troublesome guests as the English on their southern shore.

As the duke of Savoy's affairs went on in a very indifferent condition in Piedmont, the king of Spain's were little better in Estremadura: the Portuguese having taken Valencia de Alcantara by assault, within three days made themselves masters of Albuquerque, and marched towards Badajoz designing to besiege that place: but before they came to it, they were to attack the army under the command of the marshal de Tessé: that general foreseeing the ill consequences of a battle, of the success whereof, by reason of the superiour number of the enemy's troops, he was dubious, prudently avoided it, and retired under the cannon of Badajoz: this conduct disconcerted the measures of the Portuguese,

who, by that retreat, finding themselves disappointed in their views, thought of nothing but of putting their troops into quarters of refreshment.

The marshal de Tesse's precautions were the more applauded, because the loss of a battle would have utterly ruined his catholic majesty's affairs, by reason that the court daily discovered traiterous practices, and in less than a month three several conspiracies were brought to light, one at Granada, the second at Melilla in Africa, and the third at Cadiz: that of Granada was managed by a certain monk, who was seized, but afterwards made his escape from the prison at Madrid, by means of the invasion of the Portuguese; seven of his accomplices were also secured: that of Melilla was contrived by some Catalonian soldiers of the garrison, who conspired to deliver up the place to the prince of D'Armstadt. The discovery of their design prevented the execution: some of them were condemned to lose their lives, and the rest sent to the galleys. That of Cadiz was discovered upon a slight suspicion that it may serve for an important instruction to governours of places: two boats, with twelve persons in them, went out of the port, as if they had gone a fishing: chance so ordained it, that they were observed to take quite another way than fishermen were wont to do: it raised a curiosity to see whither they went, and two French boats rowing out to observe them, perceived another boat coming to join them: the French drew nearer, and finding them to be in discourse, they soon took the boats of the pretended fishermen, and gave chase to the new-comer. The offenders confessed, that it came from prince D'Armstadt, who designed to surprise Cadiz.

The continuation of Rapin tells us (1), that Sir George Rooke, after he had supplied Gibraltar, sailed again into the Mediterranean, and, in conjunction with the Dutch fleet under vice admiral Callemburgh, met off Malaga the count de Thoulouse with

(1) Rapin, Vol. xvi. p. 47, in the year 1704.

the whole French fleet, which was much superiour to the English in number, and had many gallies with them, that were of great use. Sir George Rooke called a council of war, in which it was resolved to engage the enemy; but there was not due care taken to furnish all the ships with a sufficient quantity of powder, for some had wasted a great part of their stock of ammunition before Gibraltar (2): however, they had generally twenty-five rounds, and it had seldom happened, that so much powder was spent in an action at sea. On the thirteenth of August, as the two fleets engaged, Sir Cloudesley Shovel advanced with his squadron to a close fight, for it was a maxim of our seamen to fight as near as they could; and he had the advantage, and the enemy's van gave way in no little confusion, as did their rear soon after, being no less vigorously attacked by the Dutch: but the enemy being very strong in the center, and some of the English ships being obliged to go out of the line for want of shot, (occasioned by the great expence of it at Gibraltar) several of Sir George Rooke's own squadron suffered very much: about seven in the evening, one of the French admiral's seconds advanced out of the line, and began a close fight with the St. George, commanded by Sir John Jennings; but notwithstanding the St. George had already suffered much, she met with such rough treatment, that she had difficulty enough to rejoin the line, after the loss of both her captains and many of her men. The engagement continued till night parted them, and, if the French had come to a new engagement next day, it might have been fatal, since many of our ships were without shot, whilst others had enough and to spare. In this long and hot action there was no ship on either side, that was taken, sunk, or burnt. The English made a shew the next day of preparing for a second engagement, but the enemy bore off, to the great joy of our fleet. The French suffered much in the action, and went into Toulon.

(2) Burnet.

so disabled, that they could not be put in a condition to go to sea again in many months: they left the sea, as the field of battle, to the English; so that the honour of the action remained with us, though the nation was not greatly elated with the news of a drawn battle at sea with the French: it was long before a certain account of the action was brought to England; but the modesty, with which the French king wrote of it to the archbishop of Paris, put us out of all fears; for whereas the French stile was very boasting of their successes, in this case it was only said, that the action was to his advantage: from that cold expression the English concluded, that the victory was on their side. When the full account was sent home from our fleet, the partialities on both sides appeared very signally. The Tories magnified this as a great victory; but persons skilled in naval affairs, differed much in their sentiments about Sir George Rooke's conduct in that action; some not only justifying, but also extolling it as much as others condemned it.

Sir George Rooke, after the engagement, sailed to Gibraltar, where he stayed eight days to refit; and having supplied that place with men and provisions, sailed from thence, on the fourth of September, N. S. and returned home with the great ships, leaving behind him eighteen men of war, under the command of Sir John Leake, both for the defence of the coast of Portugal, and to be in readiness to succour Gibraltar, if there should be occasion.

I shall now add the letter of Sir Cloudesley Shovel on this occasion, as follows:

“ This brings news of my health, and that we are on our way
“ homeward: that which sends us home so soon, is a sharp en-
“ gagement we have had with the French: our number of ships
“ that fought in the line of battle were pretty equal: I think they
“ were forty-nine, and we fifty-three; but Sir George Rooke re-
“ served some of the fifty gun ships, to observe if they attempted
“ any thing with their gallies, of which they had twenty-four:
“ their

“ their ships did exceed ours in bigness: I judge they had seven-
“ teen three-deck ships, and we had but seven: the battle began
“ on Sunday the thirteenth instant, soon after ten in the morning,
“ and in the center and rear of the fleet it continued till night
“ parted: but in the van of the fleet, where I commanded, and
“ led by Sir John Leake, we having the weather-gage, gave me
“ an opportunity of coming as near as I pleased, which was with-
“ in pistol shot, before I fired a gun, through which means, and
“ God’s assistance, the enemy declined us, and were upon the run
“ in less than four hours, by which time we had little wind, and
“ their gallies towed off their lame ships, and others as they
“ pleased; for the admiral of the white and blue, with whom we
“ fought, had seven gallies tending upon him: as soon as the
“ enemy got out of the reach of our guns, and the battle con-
“ tinuing pretty hot astern, and some of our ships in the admiral’s
“ squadron towing out of the line, which, I understood after-
“ wards, was for want of shot, I ordered all the ships of my di-
“ vision to slack their sails, and to close the line in the center;
“ this working had that good effect, that several of the enemies
“ ships astern which had kept their line, having their top-sails
“ and fore-sails set, shot up abreast of us, as the rear admiral of
“ the white and blue, and some of his division; and the vice ad-
“ miral of the white and some of his division; but they were so
“ warmly received before they got a broadside, that with their
“ boats ahead, and their sprit-sails set, they towed from us with-
“ out giving us the opportunity of firing at them.

“ The ships that suffered most in my division, were the Lenox,
“ Warspite, Tilbury, and Swiftsure; the rest escaped pretty well,
“ and I the best of all, though I never took greater pains in all
“ my life to be soundly beaten; for I set all my sails, and rowed
“ with three boats ahead, to get along side with the admiral of
“ the white and blue; but he outsailing me, shunned fighting,
“ and lay along side of the little ships: notwithstanding, the en-
“ gagement

“ gagement was very sharp, and, I think, the like between two
 “ fleets never has been in any time: there is hardly a ship, that
 “ must not shift one mast, and some must shift all; a great many
 “ have suffered much, but none more than Sir George Rooke and
 “ captain Jennings in the St. George. God send us well home:
 “ I believe we have not three spare top-masts, nor three fishes in
 “ the fleet, and I judge there are ten jury-masts now up: after the
 “ fight, we were two days in sight of the enemy, preparing for a
 “ second engagement, but the enemy declined and stood from us
 “ in the night.”

Another writer expresses himself thus; “ The sea fight, though
 “ very bloody, was far from being decisive, not a ship being lost
 “ on either side: it is certain the enemy were superiour to us,
 “ both in weight and number; and, however many among us
 “ blamed the conduct of the admiral, he came off, when all things
 “ are impartially considered, much better than could have been
 “ expected: both sides claimed a victory, which in truth neither
 “ of them had; both pretending to seek out the other, and to
 “ come to a second engagement, for which neither of them cared;
 “ and the want of sufficient ammunition on our side, argued a
 “ weakness, to say no worse, and ought not easily to be par-
 “ doned.”

In a letter from an officer on board the fleet in this engagement,
 are these words: “ All the while we were daring the enemy, we
 “ went on the career by turns, to stop our shot-holes; so that
 “ had they engaged a second time, we must have engaged them
 “ board and board, and either have carried them, or sunk by
 “ their sides: in a word, we were obliged to leave them, lest they
 “ should suspect our weakness, and force us to be desperate.”

During the action, were killed and wounded of the English,
 two thousand three hundred and fifty-eight; of the Dutch four
 hundred; Sir Andrew Lake, captain of the Grafton, captain
 Cow of the Ranelagh, lieutenant Jennings of the St. George, the
 third

third lieutenant of the Shrewsbury, and the first lieutenant of the Lenox, were all the officers of their rank that were killed; the captains Myngs, Baker, Kirton, Jumper, Myghels, lieutenant Edisbury, and lieutenant Lestock, were wounded, as also were two lieutenants of the Barfleur, and the chaplain, seven or eight lieutenants more, three masters, and about as many boatswains and carpenters.

On the French side were killed the bailiff of Lorrain, commodore of a squadron, and the count de Thoulouse's second; five captains, of which three were knights, a commissary of marines, six lieutenants, and five sea ensigns: among the latter, the marshal de Chateau Renaud's son, and the sieur de Thoulouse's gentleman; the count himself was wounded in the forehead, shoulder, and thigh; the count de Relingues had his left leg shot off; the marquis de Herhault, intendant of the fleet; monsieur du Casse, commodore of a squadron; monsieur de Chateau Renaud, the count de Cominges, the count de Phelypaux, monsieur Valincourt, the count de Thoulouse's secretary, seven captains, eight lieutenants, and about one hundred and fifty other officers.

Thus having collected my materials of this famous action off Malaga, from various authors of our nation, with that of monsieur Vertot, with Sir Cloudesley Shovel's, and other original letters; I shall conclude this chapter, from the marquis de lang Gallerie (3), with some other letters upon this signal occasion, and shall not pretend to impose an opinion on my readers, who are more capable of judging of the affair, than I can possibly presume to dictate.

There was, says this gentleman, another event in one thousand seven hundred and four, which the court of France boasted of, viz. the victory that count de Thoulouse, great admiral of France, pretended to have gained in the Mediterranean, over the English

(3) Page 366.

and Dutch fleets: this was one of the most celebrated sea fights that has happened a long time in respect of its long continuance, the experience of the admirals who commanded, and the bravery of the officers and seamen that fought on both sides.

The king of France, having lost two great battles by land, gave out that count de Thoulouse had gained a complete victory at sea, to counterbalance the prosperity of the enemies arms in Bavaria: it is an artifice, not uncommon for the court of France, to publish a victory even sometimes when they have had the disadvantage: there is no need of any thing but the king's letter to the cardinal de Noailles to order *Te Deum* to be sung: this pompous formality imposes very much upon the minds of the people, who think never any thing but truth comes from the mouth of kings: besides this piece of policy's contributing much to keep the people in obedience, it was very necessary at this time to dazzle the Spaniards in order to make them the better satisfied with the duke of Anjou's reign. The court of Madrid was full of malecontents and partisans for the house of Austria, who, since the battle of Hochstadt, inspired the people with an opinion, that the greatness and good fortune of the kingdom of France, on whom they depended, was but a phantasm. We shall insert here three letters upon the subject of this sea fight; one from the king of France to the cardinal Noailles, another from king Philip to count de Thoulouse, and the third from admiral Callembourg to messieurs the states-general of the United Provinces.

A letter from the king of France to cardinal de Noailles:

“ My cousin,

“ The fleet which I have drawn together in the Mediterranean,
“ under the command of my son the count de Thoulouse, admiral
“ of France, has not only disappointed the designs of the English
“ and Dutch fleets joined together upon the coast of Catalonia,
“ but has likewise ended the campaign gloriously by a general en-
“ gagement

" gagement altogether to our advantage; although the enemy was
 " considerably more numerous and had a favourable wind, yet
 " their first efforts were sustained, and they have been repulsed
 " with so much bravery by our officers and seamen, animated by
 " the example of a general, that they had no other thought du-
 " ring the fight which lasted ten hours, than to avoid being
 " boarded by our ships, which was several times attempted; and
 " to seek their safety by a retreat, count Thoulouse following
 " them afterwards two days together, and endeavouring, but in
 " vain, to bring them to a second engagement: this happy success
 " obliges me to give thanks to God by public prayers, &c.

" and lower

" Louis."

" Phelypeaux."

King Philip's letter to count de Thoulouse, admiral of France:

" I dispatch this courier to you, as a mark of my esteem, af-
 " fection, and acknowledgment of the services you have done me
 " this campaign, since it is to you that I owe the protection of the
 " coasts of Spain, of which we may call you the deliverer: and
 " as I expect yet greater effects of your services by the reduction
 " of Gibraltar, which will be entirely owing to the succours which
 " you have given me to undertake it; and which is become yet
 " more necessary by what the enemy has cast into that place. I
 " expect every moment news from baron de Pointis, whom we
 " expect to be before this time arrived there; and I doubt not
 " that he will obtain a considerable advantage over the enemy, if
 " they dare to see him: your presence will be again necessary the
 " next year, and the good sentiments that I have for you, merit
 " your services to me in my necessity.

" To my uncle the count de Thoulouse,

" Philip."

" admiral of France."

Besides this letter of thanks, his catholic majesty made a present to count de Thoulouse of a toison enriched with diamonds to the value of a hundred thousand crowns, which was carried him by monsieur Michelin, one of his valets-de-chambre: he made also a present to marshal de Cœuvres of a picture likewise enriched with diamonds, to the value of two hundred and fifty thousand crowns. If these gifts would have given convincing proofs of the gain of this battle, it is certain that king Philip could not have employed them to better purpose; but we will now see admiral Callembourg's letter upon this subject.

Admiral Callembourg's letter to the states:

" High and mighty lords,

" My last letter to your high mightinesses was of the twenty-seventh of August last, to which I with all imaginable respect refer you. Admiral Shovel and vice admiral Wassenaer returned the same day to an anchor in the bay of Gibraltar with the ships under their command. The resolution which was taken two days before in a council of war was changed, and it was unanimously agreed to, that we should divide ourselves into separate squadrons, the better to water upon the coast of Barbary on the east of Tetuan, to provide the fleet at once with fresh water, that we might be ready for the first favourable wind: to this end we ranged ourselves along the coast the twelfth leaving a garrison at Gibraltar of eighteen hundred English seamen; and at the request of the prince of Hesse-D'Armstadt, we left in that bay your high mightinesses bomb vessels, with orders to the bombardiers and workmen to continue in the town, during our absence, and obey the prince's orders: on the fourteenth, the fleet came to an anchor under the cape of Tetuan, and the nineteenth, being provided with water, and other refreshments, put off again: the twenty-first our vanguard being between Gibraltar and Malaga made a signal of
" their

“ their perceiving the enemies fleet: thereupon admiral Rooke
“ called a council of war, wherein were the officers of both na-
“ tions, and upon the report of the captain of the avant guard,
“ that the French fleet consisted of sixty-six ships of war and
“ twenty-four gallies, it was resolved, they being to the wind-
“ ward, that we would expect them before the Straits if the wind
“ should continue at east, and that half of the garrison of Gib-
“ raltar should be drawn off to reinforce the English ships: the
“ next day the English forced a French ship on shore at Mara-
“ bella, the seamen got ashore, and burnt their ship, she was a
“ store or hospital ship: on the twenty-third we perceived the
“ enemies fleet to the leeward, we bore down towards them, but
“ could not join them that day: we pursued them all night, and
“ at break of day next morning the wind being at east we came
“ on that side of the enemy where we expected them and found
“ them fifty-four ships of the line of battle and twenty-four gal-
“ lies, which we could number as we advanced upon them on
“ that side. Admiral Shovel having the avant guard, and the
“ squadron of your high mightinesses made up the rear; in this
“ situation the whole fleet entered upon an engagement, about ten
“ o'clock in the morning, and the battle was very violent because
“ of the calm: the ships whose masts and rigging were damaged
“ consumed great quantities of powder, insomuch that during the
“ action we were obliged to fill again the cartouches. We con-
“ tinued in this manner to cannonade each other till night. Cap-
“ tain Herman Lynslagar, commander of your high mightinesses
“ ship the Nimeguen, has been killed, and the secretary Vander-
“ shum has his right heel carried off: your high mightinesses will
“ see underneath the number of killed and wounded. In the
“ night we made all the necessary dispositions, and the next morn-
“ ing the wind came about west, which was to the enemies ad-
“ vantage, we lay by, expecting them, and employed ourselves
“ in repairing our damage as much as the time would permit,
“ distributing

“ distributing at the same time our ammunition, and other things
 “ which we drew from the store-ships to the end that every one
 “ might be in readiness: but the enemy kept their station testify-
 “ ing thereby that they had no desire to renew the fight: that
 “ day, a little after noon, admiral Rooke called a council of war,
 “ wherein admiral Shovel reported that the avant guard of the
 “ enemy had been continually at such distance that he could not
 “ engage them as he desired. Admiral Rooke with the center and
 “ we with the rear guard had been engaged in a furious combat,
 “ insomuch that her majesty's ships under that admiral had con-
 “ sumed so great a part of their powder and bullets, that there
 “ remained but ten charges to every gun, which might be all spent
 “ in an hour, thereupon we resolved to set sail with the fleet for
 “ Gibraltar to provide ourselves as well for the ships as for the
 “ place, in case we should see the enemy no more.

“ I removed upon your high mightinesses ship, the Hatwyck,
 “ commanded by captain Schryver, because the Albemarle which
 “ I had left under the command of captain Vister, was not in
 “ a condition to carry the flag: all last night we drove towards
 “ the east.

“ This morning, having a fresh gale at east, we weighed anchor,
 “ in pursuance of our resolutions of returning. I am,

“ High and mighty lords, &c.

“ G. Callembourg.

“ P. S. According to the list, there have been in the whole en-
 “ gagement ninety-two killed, and two hundred and sixty-eight
 “ wounded in your high mightinesses ships.”

C H A P.

C H A P. II.

OF THE BRITISH FLEETS; THE ENEMIES ATTEMPT UPON GIBRALTAR IN VAIN; GIBRALTAR A FREE PORT; ITS CONSEQUENCE; DEATH OF SIR CLOUDESLEY SHOVEL, ETC.

AFTER the action off Malaga, the fleet, under the command of Sir George Rooke, returned to England, and arrived on the twenty-fourth of September, having left a squadron under Sir John Leake to remain in the Mediterranean during the winter to secure the trade, and render any designs of the enemy abortive. The Spaniards found our possession of Gibraltar so great a thorn in their sides, that as they prevailed on the French to hazard an engagement at sea, to facilitate their taking it; so they afterwards demanded a squadron of French ships, under the command of monsieur de Pointis, to assist them in carrying on the siege.

Both the armies in Portugal retired into winter quarters on the ninth of October, which gave the duke of Berwick an opportunity of detaching a considerable body to join the marquis de Villadarias, who was going to besiege Gibraltar: the brave prince of Hesse then commanded in that fortress, who immediately sent advice to my lord Galway, and Sir John Leake, that the place was actually invested with a formidable army, and that the town, unless immediately relieved, would be obliged to surrender; for on the fourth of October in the evening, nineteen sail of the enemy's ships came into the bay.

The sending these detachments from the Spanish army to attempt the retaking of Gibraltar, so weakened them, that they were contented to defend their own country, and had no thoughts of invading Portugal; so that things were quiet on those frontiers all the remaining part of the year; of such importance was thought
the

the retaking of Gibraltar! the Spaniards had drawn all their forces they had in Andalusia and Estremadura together for that purpose, and the marquis de Villadarias had with him some French troops, with some engineers of that nation, who were chiefly trusted, and were sent from France to carry on the siege. This gave some disgust to the Spaniards, who were so absurd in their pride, that, though they could do nothing for themselves, and indeed knew not how to set about it, yet could not bear to be taught by others, or to see themselves (1) out-done by them. The siege was continued for four months, during which time, the prince of Hesse had many occasions given him to distinguish himself very eminently, both as to his courage, conduct, and indefatigable application. Convoys came frequently from Lisbon with supplies of men and provisions, which the French were not able to hinder or intercept: which is, I think, sufficient to point out the advantage the allied fleet reaped by the battle of Malaga. At last monsieur de Pointis came with his squadron, as I have observed, and was long in the bay, trying what could be done by sea, while the place was pressed by land: upon that, a much stronger squadron was sent from Lisbon under the command of Sir John Leake and rear admiral Vanderdussen, to relieve the place, and raise the siege, who arrived in the bay of Gibraltar on the ninth of October: in the mean while, marshal de Tesse, who was sent by the court of France, which was dissatisfied with the conduct of the marquis de Villadarias, had no better success at land than that general; so that the enemy was at last obliged in the end to raise the siege. I shall shew presently, upon the advice which the prince of Hesse sent to lord Galway, and Sir John Leake, his lordship did, by the king of Portugal's leave, send thither four of his best English battalions, under his command, and two Dutch regiments, with a good supply of stores and ammunition: but

(1) Continuation of Rapin, Vol. xvi. p. 55, in the year 1704.

whilst

whilst Sir John Leake was preparing to this end, some other ships joined him from England and Holland; and soon after he received another letter from the prince, acquainting him, that the French, having landed six battalions, were sailed to the westward, and had only left six frigates from forty to twenty guns, that they had opened their trenches against the town, on the eleventh of October: upon this advice, Sir John sailed, and arrived in Gibraltar bay, with fourteen sail of English and six of Dutch: they landed some of the troops; but upon advice that a French squadron of superiour force was preparing to attack him, they were all re-embarked, except the engineers, gunners, and artificers, with a body of four hundred marines. The fleet having lost some of their anchors and cables, and the Dutch almost all theirs, because they were obliged to anchor off the west side of the hill, in very foul anchorage, not having it in their power to lie in the proper ground, being under the fire of the enemies batteries; and, with this misfortune, the provisions growing short, Sir John's squadron was under the necessity of returning to Lisbon (2). Sir John Leake then went to Lisbon, with a view only to refit, and to be in a better condition to supply and assist the garrison in a second expedition; for which he had very prudently directed preparations to be made in his absence.

Gibraltar was defended with great bravery and resolution, when Sir John Leake, who had put to sea from Lisbon on the twenty-fifth of October, with his squadron, having the addition of one fire ship, and unexpectedly entered the bay of Gibraltar on the twenty-ninth, where he surprised two ships of thirty-four guns, one of twelve, a fire ship, two English prizes, and a Tartan (3); and another frigate of thirty guns, which had just got out of the bay, was taken by an English ship that followed her. A store ship was also taken, full of bombs and granadoes.

(2) Lediard's Naval History. (3) Idem, and Impartial Inquiry. Hist. of Europe. Burnet. Burchet. Oldmixon, and the marquis de Quincy.

This relief arrived so happily as not only to preserve Gibraltar, but likewise to contribute to the entire ruin of the enemy's infantry, the marshal de Tesse, being there himself with the best of the French troops; and this prevented their being in a condition to take the field the following campaign upon the frontiers of Portugal; for the ill condition of the enemy's foot gave the allies an opportunity in the spring campaign, to take Valencia de Alcantara by storm, and Albuquerque by capitulation, two frontier towns of great importance. The arrival of the English and Dutch was very seasonable; for the enemy had that very night designed to have attacked the town in several places; and for that purpose had got a great number of boats, some say two hundred from Cadiz, to make the assault with three thousand men, on the side of the new mole, where the confederates attacked the foregoing summer.

The enemy, notwithstanding their discouragements, continued the siege, in expectation of a strong naval succour from France: upon this, Sir John Leake resolved to land as many men as he could spare, to reinforce the garrison, which he performed on the second, third, and fourth of November; and some days after, a further reinforcement: this performed, he still continued on the coast, in order to alarm and distress the enemy. On the nineteenth and twentieth, Sir John moved his station, and ordered his small frigates to go as near the shore as possible, and then manned all his boats, as if he intended a descent: but this was done so slowly, and the troops feigned such a seeming reluctance to land, as gave the Spanish general time to draw down a great body of cavalry, which enabled the admiral to put his design in execution, and by this stratagem, to salute them in such a manner with his cannon and small arms, as made them fly back to their camp with great precipitation, after having lost a great many of their men.

Upon advice that Sir John received on the twenty-second of November of a strong squadron being at Cadiz, and was apprehended

hended would soon be in a condition to sail from that port; and upon some other intelligence, he thought fit to order his squadron out of Gibraltar bay to the eastward, that he might better be able to take such measures as should be found necessary, as well for the preservation of the place, as for securing the succours that were expected from Lisbon (4). On the seventh of December arrived the Antelope with nine transports under her convoy; and on the ninth, the Newcastle also sailed into the bay with seven more, having on board near two thousand land forces. They had fight of the French fleet under the command of monsieur Pointis, consisting of twenty-four sail of men of war, under English and Dutch colours, which they escaped very narrowly: by the arrival of these succours, the garrison was increased to upwards of three thousand men, more than when the enemy broke ground; and having already gained many advantages over them, it was no longer thought requisite to keep the fleet. On the twenty-first, pursuant to the resolution of a council of war, it was resolved to remain in Gibraltar bay, while the wind continued westerly, and the first easterly wind to proceed to Lisbon, to clean and refit the squadron: this resolution was soon put in execution, and the fleet arrived accordingly in the latter end of the year one thousand seven hundred and four (5).

The garrison being now reinforced, and having obtained a great many advantages over the besiegers (who, by the accounts they had received, were reduced to the greatest misery) that they thought themselves in no great danger: the siege therefore was changed into a blockade (6), and the enemy's troops, by their miserable condition, were more apprehensive of the attempts of the garrison, than the garrison of any thing they could do. On the twenty-

(4) Burchet. Burnet. Oldmixon. Hist. Militaire, Tom. iv. p. 450.

(5) Burchet's Naval Hist. Complete Hist. of Europe. The life of queen Anne.

(6) Quincy. Hist. Militaire, p. 441. Memoires de Las Torres. Lamberti, &c.

ninth of January, two vessels with fresh supplies came into the bay; and on the twenty-fifth of February, six companies of Dutch, and two hundred of the English guards, with other English troops and several necessaries. On the seventh, a transport arrived with a further supply of men and ammunition: however, the French and Spaniards, as their own writers confess, were obstinate in their resolution of retaking that place, cost what it would. The marshal de Tefse, who had been appointed captain general in the room of the marquis de Villadarias, and the baron de Pointis were ordered to block up the place by sea: this being performed, they made no doubt of being masters of the place in a very short time. The prince of Hesse also finding the French general much more expert than the Spaniard had been, and better supplied with necessaries, sent an express directly to Lisbon to Sir John Leake to come with all speed to his assistance. Sir Thomas Dilkes was in the mean time arrived from England, with five third rates and a body of troops; these being embarked, Sir John sailed from Lisbon on the sixth of March one thousand seven hundred and five, to prevent the loss of this important garrison: for monsieur Pointis was arrived in the bay of Gibraltar with fourteen men of war and two fire ships; and the French and Spanish army were preparing to make a general assault upon the town. Sir John's fleet consisted of twenty-eight English, four Dutch, and eight Portuguese men of war, with an English and Portuguese regiment, and a Dutch battalion of fresh troops. Monsieur Pointis brought the besiegers great supplies, and blocked up Gibraltar on that side next the sea, whereby the town was reduced to the last extremity.

Sir John Leake's squadron consisted of thirty sail of men of war, and he therefore held on his course with the utmost expedition, hoping to find the French admiral in the bay of Gibraltar. Upon the tenth, some say the ninth, of March, about half an hour past five in the morning, as Sir John's fleet were within two miles of Cabrita point, he discovered only five sail making out of the

the bay to follow the rest of their squadron, which went off upon the first notice of his approach: a gun being fired from Europa point at these five sail, Sir John concluded the garrison safe, and therefore gave chase to those ships, which proved to be five men of war: he soon took the Arrogant of sixty guns; and then the Ardent of sixty-six, and the Marquis of fifty-six, after some little resistance: the other two, the Magnanime of seventy-four, and the Lis of eighty-six guns, were run ashore, and burnt by the enemies themselves a little to the westward of Marbella; on board of one, was monsieur Pointis. Sir John then sailed up the Mediterranean, to see if he could overtake the rest of the French, of which these were a part; but, after a fruitless pursuit for some days, the enemy sailing to Toulon, he returned back to Gibraltar, which was now so well supplied, that the Spaniards lost all hopes of being able to take it: the marshal de Tesse, therefore, finding it in vain to continue the siege, formed a blockade, and withdrew the rest of the troops. By the fifteenth of March, N. S. there were thrown into the town eight thousand bombs; and upwards of seventy thousand cannon shot were fired by the enemy, though to very little purpose.

Sir John Leake did not enter the bay from his chase, till the nineteenth; and then sailed out again to the westward, and reached Lisbon on the first of April one thousand seven hundred and five. The obstinacy of the two courts, in obliging their generals to continue the siege, which they were thoroughly sensible that it was to no purpose, proved the ruin of their affairs in Spain, at least for that campaign; and had it not been for the accident of the earl of Galway's losing his arm, by a cannon shot, before Badajoz, which occasioned the raising the siege, king Philip in all probability had been driven entirely out of the kingdom of Spain (7).

(7) Memoires de Las Torres, p. 204. Quincy, &c.

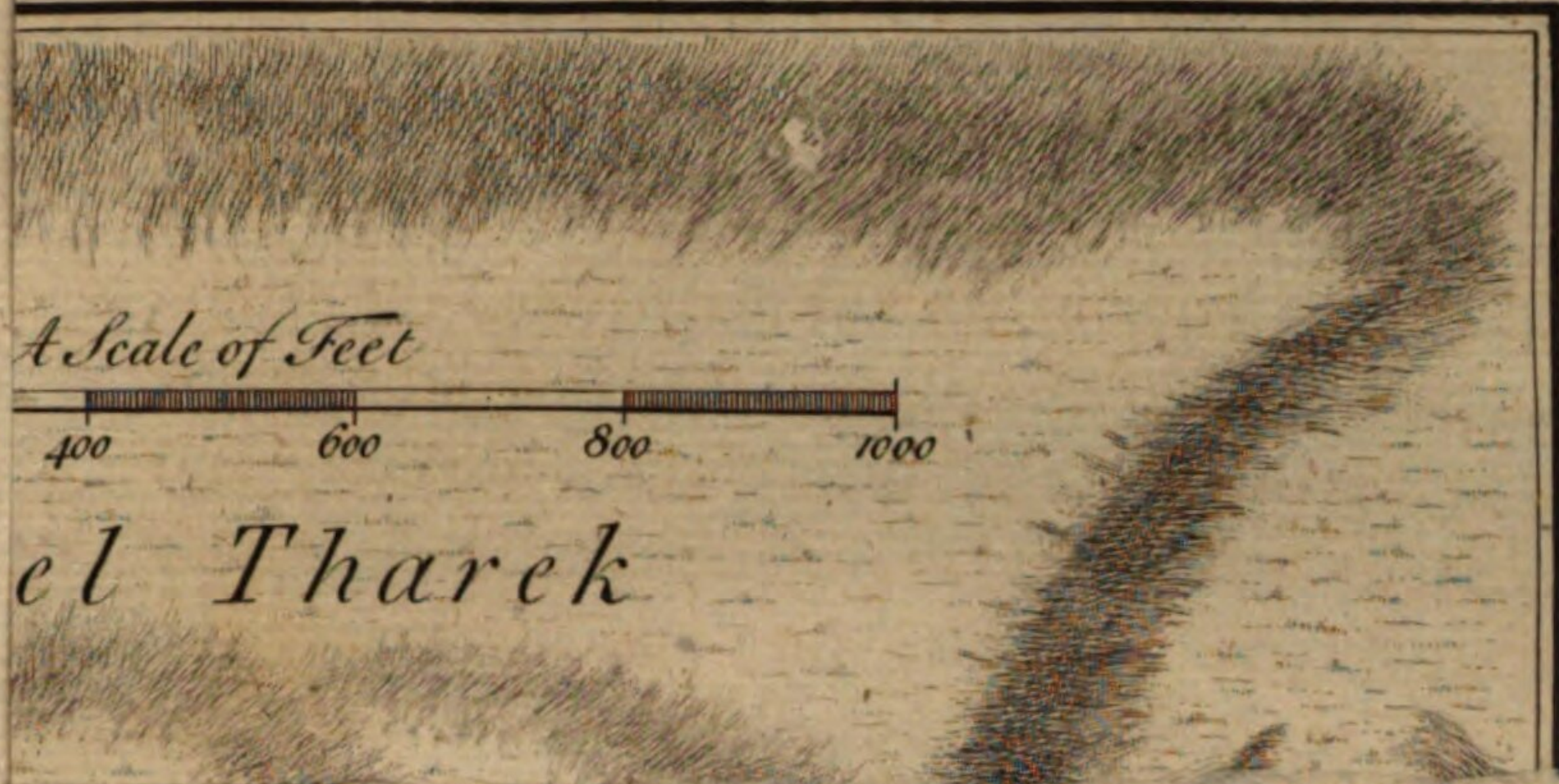
“ After

“ After this unlucky affair, says the marshal de Tefse, in his
“ letter to the French king (concerning monsieur Pointis’s misfor-
“ tune) seeing the place was supplied anew with all necessaries, I
“ gave orders for an intrenchment to be made, and I dispatched
“ the engineer Renaud to acquaint your majesty, as to the catho-
“ lic king, the impossibility of continuing the siege: the troops
“ are fatigued, and a great many of the besiegers are sick, and
“ ammunition begins to be wanted.” Accordingly the siege was
raised on the twenty-second: thus after they had laid before the
town near six months, and the far greatest part of their army
ruined, they prudently thought fit to draw off their batteries and
raise the siege, leaving only a detachment at some distance to block
up the place. The besiegers certainly met with great difficulty in
their approaches, not only from the advantageous heavy fire, the
garrison continually poured upon them, but likewise from the
great rains, which retarded the operations, and occasioned a ge-
neral sickness that swept off numbers.

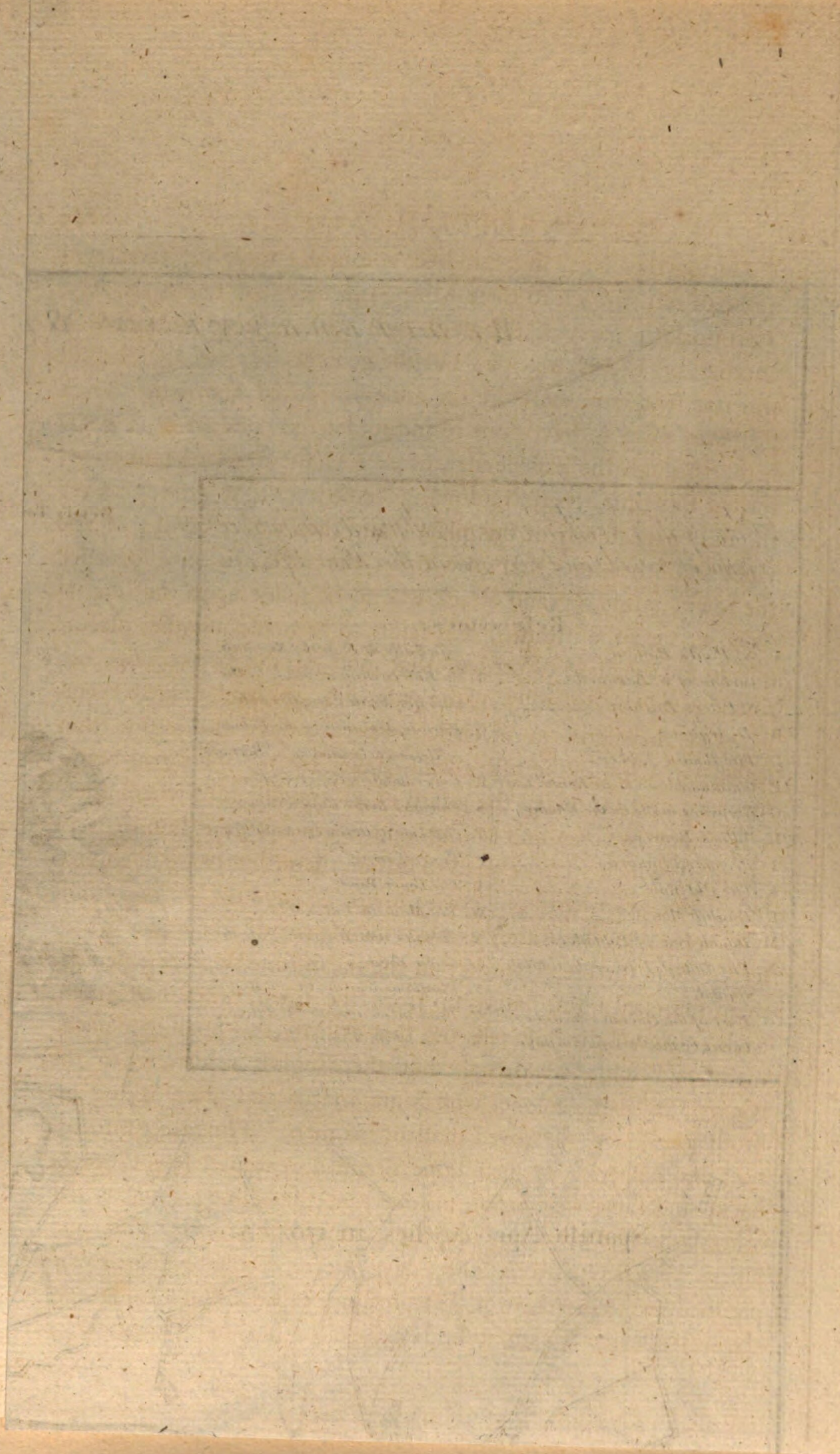
The enemy also kept a severe fire upon the works, and had dis-
mounted most of the guns, and levelled the upper works of the
low line of defence; yet were they not able either to make a prac-
ticable breach, or hurt the flanks; therefore there was little dan-
ger of their taking that place, and by a moderate computation
they had killed, wounded, and those who died of the sickness,
ten thousand men.

During the siege, the prince of Hesse, in his first sally, burned
their approaches; but afterwards they attacked and took the round
tower, at the end of their lines, but were driven out by the same
officer who defended it, and were forced to retire. I recommend
the reader to the plan, where he will be better acquainted with
the strength of that line of defence, and compare it with that of
the year one thousand seven hundred and twenty-seven and one
thousand seven hundred and fifty-five, where the great additions
will be seen plain, and make that part of the garrison familiar.

During



el Tharek



During this siege, five hundred volunteers took the sacrament never to return back to their camp, till they had taken the city. This forlorn party of Spaniards was to have been sustained by another of French troops; but the generals disagreeing, the aid was not sent, and therefore the attempt proved abortive. Their plan was this: to have gone round under the conduct of a goatherd, through the pass de algarovas, i. e. the pass of locust trees; for, at this time, there were many locust trees that grew all over the hill, particularly at this place; and then under favour of the vines and other trees that grew upon the rock, to have surprised the town, while a grand attack was to be made upon the line of defence, next the isthmus, and feints to be made at other places: and so far they had succeeded, that most of the forlorn hope had surmounted the difficulty of the pass, No. 47. and lodged themselves the first night in St. Michael's cave, 48; the second they scaled 49, Charles the fifth's wall, passed by 50, the signal house, surprised and murdered the guard at 51, middle hill, where afterwards they by ropes and scaling ladders got up some hundreds of the party which were ordered to sustain them, but being discovered by a drum, who had been sent to town, he gave the alarm to those who were there, and they availed themselves of the rocks which served them for breast works: in the mean time, a strong detachment marched immediately up from the town, who drove them back. Claude du Bosc tells us, that at first, this Spanish detachment had some advantage; but the English returning to the charge, killed the colonel who commanded, and after taking his brother prisoner, destroyed most of his men. Thus this unfortunate and desperate forlorn hope perished, except a few that got back, and some were made prisoners at that time; four or five others who had concealed themselves among the rocks, trees, and vines, were taken two or three days after. Those Spaniards who perished, were driven over that precipice called Saltade Loba, i. e. the wolf's leap. I cannot find the exact time of this desperate attempt.

attempt, but should imagine it might have been when monsieur Pointis lay the last time before the walls of the town; how terrible when disagreements happen between the commanders of armies and fleets! too many are the instances in history, and it is not at all improbable, that had not this been the case, the marshal de Tesse might have availed himself of that important and now inaccessible garrison; for the rocks, at the back of the hill, under the middle hill, advanced, and at Europa, where the two hundred marines got up, who surprised the women at their devotion, as has been related, and at many other parts of the rock where it was the least accessible, are scarped, so as to render all future attempts of that kind impracticable, with the addition of guards, and chains of centinels.

It is certain, that this siege was carried on with great obstinacy, though without effect, in the year one thousand seven hundred and five; for the king of Spain and his ministers persisted in it, and which had been formed in the month of October, in the preceding year, by the marquis de Villadarias, and had been continued through the winter, at a vast expence of men and money, to very little purpose; for the prince of D'Armstadt, who defended it, was a good officer, a man of inflexible courage, and having the sea open, received continual supplies. Once indeed it might have been taken; for had the forlorn detachment been properly supported, it is thought they must have carried the place (8). This error induced the king of Spain to send thither the marshal de Tesse, and procured an order to baron Pointis to sail thither with a squadron of five large men of war, notwithstanding he represented how dangerous a step they obliged him to take. He was quickly attacked by the English fleet, as I have already related, by whom three of his ships were taken, and he forced to

(8) Mod. Univ. Hist. Vol. xxi. B. xix. c. i. p. 501.

run the other two on shore; and upon this, on the twenty-third of April, the siege was raised (9).

The marshal de Tessé marched into Spain to reinforce their army, leaving some troops before the garrison entrenched in the line which ended upon the Mediterranean sea, and the bay of Gibraltar; but not in that form as at present, for it was only a strait line, with a few places of arms, being pallisadoed, and a glacis.

The prince of Hesse D'Armstadt remained in the town, and repaired the works that were battered, and put the place in a better condition than it was before the siege.

Towards the latter end of May one thousand seven hundred and five, the English fleet, under the joint command of Sir Cloudesley Shovel and the earl of Peterborough, sailed from St. Helen's, and arrived at Lisbon the twentieth of June, N. S. a week after the Dutch fleet commanded by admiral Allemonde, and about five thousand land forces. The prince of Hesse arrived also from Gibraltar, and gave king Charles the third positive assurances of the inclinations of the province of Catalonia, and kingdom of Valencia to declare for him. King Charles being resolved to try his fortune with the earl of Peterborough, sent back the prince of Hesse D'Armstadt to Gibraltar, to get the garrison of that place in readiness to embark, he went on board the Ranelagh with the earl of Peterborough: they put to sea on the twenty-eighth of July, N. S. and a few days after, arrived in the bay of Gibraltar, where he was received as lawful sovereign; and having taken on board the battalions of English guards, and three old regiments, which had lately so bravely defended that place, he left but two new battalions in garrison there, as there was no danger to be expected from the enemy, either by sea or land; for the

(9) Quincy. *Histoire Militaire de Louis XIV.* *Memoires historique & chronologiques.* Burnet's *Hist. of his own Times.* *Memoires de las Torres*, Tom. IV. p. 204.

French and Spanish troops were obliged to defend their own frontiers under the marshal de Tefle, &c. against the earl of Galway; and as for a fleet, they dare not shew one upon the seas (1). Such were the consequences of Sir George Rooke's falling upon Gibraltar, as bishop Burnet so facetiously terms that noble resolve of council off Tetuan: its consequence was then most severely felt, is still, and ever will be, so long as that mountain abides under the possession of the crown of Great Britain: and, on the other side, should the Spaniards wrest it out of our hands, it will be as great a thorn in our sides as it is in theirs. The garrison of Ceuta and Gibraltar commanding the whole view of the Straits, it would be impossible for any vessel to pass, or repass, without being intercepted.

King Charles the third sailed out of the bay of Gibraltar with the prince of Hesse, on board the fleet with the earl of Peterborough, on the fifth of August, N. S. they proceeded to Altea bay, where his catholic majesty appointed major general Ramos, who had assisted the prince of Hesse D'Armstadt in the siege of Gibraltar, to be governour of that place, sending with him about four hundred men for its greater security.

After the earl of Peterborough had taken Montjuic in September of one thousand seven hundred and five, where the brave prince of Hesse was killed, and the surrender of Barcelona to king Charles the third, a council of war being held in that city, it was thought proper to comply with the king's resolution of venturing his own person with the Catalans, and the earl of Peterborough should continue with that prince with the land forces, and as many of the marines as could be spared from the service of the ships. The season of the year being far spent, it was, at the same time, resolved, that Sir Cloudesley Shovel and admiral Allemonde should return home immediately; that twenty-five English, and fifteen

(1) Contin. of Rapin, Vol. xvi. p. 136, &c. in the year 1705.

Dutch men of war should winter at Lisbon under the command of Sir John Leake and rear admiral Waffenaer; and that four English and two Dutch frigates should be left at Barcelona. The fleet sailed from thence a few days after, and don Velasco, who commanded in Barcelona when that city capitulated, and who was sent to Roses, not thinking himself safe there, desired to be transported to Malaga, which was granted; he landed there with about one thousand men of the garrison of Barcelona: the rest having readily listed themselves in the service of king Charles, a regiment of five hundred dragoons was formed out of them for his guard, and six other regiments were afterwards raised by the states of Catalonia.

Major general Ramos, who was sent to Gibraltar as governor by the prince of Hesse, did not remain there long, for I find him reinforcing the count of Cifuenteo at Denia.

By the treaty of peace, after this war, their majesties reciprocally acknowledged each other's titles; the catholic king recognized the protestant succession, as settled in the illustrious house of Hanover; revived and restored all the privileges the English nation had enjoyed in the reign of his uncle and predecessor; yielded to the crown of Great Britain, in full dominion and sovereignty, the town and fortress of Gibraltar, the island of Minorca, and the harbour and fortress of Port Mahon, on condition that neither Jews nor Moors should be permitted to inhabit either; that the Roman catholic religion should be permitted and protected in the latter; and that if either or both should be at any time sold or alienated by the crown of Great Britain, the crown of Spain should have a right of pre-emption (2).

The garrison of Gibraltar being now in a very good posture of defence, and all the works repaired from the damage occasioned by the last siege, and properly appointed for the different defences as they then stood. Her majesty, queen Anne, of her royal plea-

(2) Mod. Univ. Hist. Vol. XXI. B. XIX. c. i. p. 526.

sure, did soon after make it a free port, and ordered directions to be sent to the governour: which directions were sent as follows:

“ At the council at St. James’s the seventh of February one thousand seven hundred and five,

“ P R E S E N T,

“ The Queen’s most excellent Majesty in council:

“ Whereas the port of Gibraltar has been declared a free port, and notwithstanding such declarations, some duties are demanded, and received from ships coming in there, to the great discouragement of trade:

“ It is ordered by her majesty in council, that directions be forthwith sent to the governour or commander in chief of that city and garrison, not to permit any duty or impositions whatsoever to be laid or received for any ships or vessels, or for any goods, wares, merchandize, or provisions, imported or exported out of the said port; but the same be free and open for all vessels, goods, wares, merchandize, and provisions: and Mr. secretary Hedges is to prepare a letter to the said governour for her majesty’s royal signature accordingly.”

The governour Roger Elliot, Esq; of the city and garrison of Gibraltar, and colonel of one of her majesty’s regiments of foot, having received the queen’s royal pleasure, affixed it on the gates of Gibraltar in the following words:

“ Whereas her majesty of Great Britain, &c. hath been graciously pleased by her warrant directed to me, dated the nineteenth of February last, to confirm her former declaration for the freedom of this port, and to require and command me not to permit any duty or impositions whatsoever to be laid or received for any ships or vessels, or for any goods, wares, merchandize, or provisions, imported or exported out of this port,
“ but

“ but that the same be free and open for all ships and vessels,
 “ goods, wares, merchandize, or provisions :

“ These are to make known and publish her majesty's royal
 “ will and pleasure ; and all persons concerned are hereby strictly
 “ required to take notice thereof, not presuming to demand or
 “ receive any duty or impositions whatsoever, for any ships, ves-
 “ sels, or for any goods, wares, merchandize, or provisions, as
 “ they will answer the contrary at their peril.

“ Given at Gibraltar this second day of April, one thousand
 “ seven hundred and six.”

On the sixth of April, one thousand seven hundred and six, king Philip's army opened the trenches, in their turn, before Montjuic, which place made an obstinate resistance, having an English and Dutch garrison. The city of Barcelona was then pressed, and nothing but king Charles's presence could have kept them from capitulating : before it, was the count de Thoulouse with a French fleet for some time, the Levant winds blowing so strong, that it was not possible for Sir John Leake with the confederate fleet to come up so soon as was desired. Leake sailed from Lisbon in the end of March : he very narrowly missed the galleons, but he could not pursue them, for he was to lose no time, but hasten to Barcelona : his fleet was increased to thirty ships of the line by the time he got to Gibraltar ; and though twenty more were following him, he would not stay, but hastened to the relief of that place, as fast as the wind served : but when their strength, as well as patience, was almost quite exhausted, the wind turned, and Leake arrived on the eight of May, N. S. As soon as the count de Thoulouse, who with his squadron had kept the city blocked up by sea, had intelligence that Leake was near him, he sailed back to Toulon, and, soon after, the siege was raised.

The

The English fleet lay all this summer of one thousand seven hundred and six, in the Mediterranean, which obliged the French to keep theirs within Toulon. Carthagená declared for king Charles, and was secured by some of our ships: the fleet came before Alicant; the seamen landed and stormed the town: the castle held out some weeks, but then capitulated, and the soldiers by articles were obliged to march to Cadiz: soon after this, our fleet sailed out of the Straits of Gibraltar, one squadron was sent to the West-Indies, another was to lie at Lisbon, and the rest were ordered home.

In the year one thousand seven hundred and seven, I find in the list of the allied forces in Spain, there were no more than two regiments in Gibraltar, Elliot's and Watkin's, consisting of four hundred men each regiment. The French and Spanish troops being far from that garrison, and having full employment, required no more men in that garrison; for Cadiz and Malaga had their apprehensions, as the enemies ships dare not appear out of port; and there were always some of the confederate ships riding in Gibraltar bay, and the main fleets passing to and from Lisbon into the Straits, and touching in and at that port; so that no danger was to be apprehended of an attempt upon that fortress. Gibraltar was now found to be a port of the utmost consequence, and our fleets constantly assembled there, and laid their plans of operation. After the affair of Toulon, admiral Shovel, in one thousand seven hundred and seven, who was not a little chagrined at the miscarriage of an expedition, upon which he had set his heart, having assigned Sir Thomas Dilkes a squadron of thirteen sail for the Mediterranean service, sailed from Gibraltar with the rest of the fleet, consisting of fifteen men of war of the line, five of a less rank, and one yacht: these accounts I have taken from the continuation of Rapin, to which I refer my reader. I shall now conclude this chapter, with the loss of that great admiral Sir Cloudesley Shovel, who, on the twenty-second of October, had ninety fathom

fathom water in the soundings (3), and brought the fleet to, and lay by from twelve till about six in the afternoon, the weather being hazy; but then, the wind coming up fresh at south-south-west, he made the signal for sailing. The fleet steered east by north, supposing they had the channel open, when some of the ships were upon the rocks to the westward of Scilly, before they were aware, about eight of the clock at night, and made a signal of distress: the Association, in which Sir Cloudesley was, struck upon the rocks called the Bishop and his Clerks, and was lost, with all the men in it, as were also the Eagle and Romney: the Firebrand was likewise dashed on the rocks, and foundered; but the captain and four and twenty of his men saved themselves in the boat. Captain Sansom, who commanded the Phoenix, being driven on the rocks within the island, saved all his men, but was forced to run his ship ashore. The Royal Anne was saved by a great presence of mind, both in Sir George Byng, and his officers and men, who, in a minute's time, set her top-sails, one of the rocks not being a ship's length to the leeward of her, and the other, on which Sir Cloudesley Shovel was lost, as near as in a breach of the sea: nor had the lord Dursley, commander of the St. George, a less strange escape; for his ship was dashed on the same ridge of rocks with the Association, and the same wave, which he saw beat out all Sir Cloudesley Shovel's lights, set his own ship afloat. Sir Cloudesley Shovel's body being the next day after this misfortune taken up by some country fellows, was stripped and buried in the sand; but, on enquiry made by the boats of the Salisbury and Antelope, it was discovered where he was hid; from whence being taken out, and brought on board the Salisbury into Plymouth on the twenty-eighth of October, was afterwards carried to London, and decently interred in Westminster-abbey, when a monument was erected in honour of the

(3) Continuation of Rapin, Vol. xvi. p. 460, in the year 1707.

admiral,

admiral, who was one of the greatest sea commanders of that, or any other age; of undaunted courage and resolution, and, at the same time, eminent for his generosity, frankness, and integrity: he was the artificer of his own fortune; and, by his personal merit alone, from the lowest beginnings, raised himself to almost the highest station in the navy: he was born in the county of Suffolk, of mean parentage, and having an early inclination to the sea, became a cabin-boy to Sir Christopher Mingo, and, improving daily by quick progresses in the knowledge of naval affairs, was soon advanced to the rank of a lieutenant, and gave early proofs of his valour on the fourteenth of January, one thousand six hundred and seventy-three-four, when, being lieutenant to Sir John Narborough, admiral of the English fleet in the Mediterranean, he burnt in the harbour, and under the castle of Tripoli, four men of war belonging to the pirates of that place, which forced them to accept such conditions of peace as Sir John Narborough was pleased to prescribe to them: he distinguished himself in the first sea engagement that happened after the revolution, in Bantry bay, on the first of May, one thousand six hundred and eighty-nine, for which he received the honour of knighthood, being commander of the *Edgar*: he was soon after advanced to the post of a flag officer; and upon the breaking out of the war in one thousand seven hundred and two, he was sent with a squadron of about twenty men of war, to join the grand fleet, and bring home the galleons, and other rich booty taken by the duke of Ormond and Sir George Rooke at Vigo: the next year he was appointed to command in chief the confederate fleet designed for the Straits, consisting of thirty-five English, and fourteen Dutch men of war; and being come into Leghorn road, maintained the honour of the English union flag, and forced the governour of that city to give him a royal salute, which he had at first refused: in that expedition Sir Cloudesley endeavoured to supply the Cevennois with money, arms, and ammunition; but, for want of intel-

intelligence, the Cevennois not coming to the sea shore, the admiral expressed a great concern, that he could not relieve them, having been always zealous for liberty and the protestant religion. In June, one thousand seven hundred and four, he joined the grand fleet, commanded by Sir George Rooke in the Mediterranean, and had his share in the honour of taking Gibraltar, and by his bravery and admirable conduct in the sea fight, that happened soon after, obliging the enemy's van to bear away out of the reach of his cannon; and, though but the second in command, yet he got the principal honour of the day, and contributed most to the preservation of the confederate fleet: for this signal piece of service, he was, some months after, appointed rear admiral of England, and admiral and commander in chief of her majesty's fleet, in conjunction with the earl of Peterborough. In one thousand seven hundred and six, he commanded the whole confederate fleet, which had on board ten thousand men, under the command of the earl Rivers, designed for a descent upon France; but being detained by contrary winds in Torbay, till the first of October, the admiral, according to his new orders, sailed for Lisbon, and from thence to Alicant, where having set on shore the land forces, he returned to Lisbon, to prepare for a greater expedition in the year one thousand seven hundred and seven; and, accordingly, in the latter end of June that year, he cast anchor in the road of Nice, where he nobly entertained the duke of Savoy, prince Eugene, and the English and Dutch ministers on board his ship, and with them concerted measures for the attack of Toulon; and had the satisfaction of seeing eight of the enemy's capital ships burnt and destroyed.

The ingenious and learned Mr. Borlase (4) tells us, that in a cave, on the Scilly isles, called Porthelik, betwixt the Tolmens, the body of this great sea captain, after his shipwreck, was found

(4) Observations on the ancient and present state of the islands of Scilly, p. 27.

naked, and not to be distinguished from the most ordinary sailor under his command; and that he was here buried, a bank of sand offering itself very opportunely for that purpose. From the nature of the place, it must, says he, be allowed to have been doubly inhuman not to have buried him, (whoever he was) and is therefore the first argument Archytas makes use of to bespeak the same friendly office after a like misfortune.

At tu, nauta, vagæ ne parce malignus arenæ

Offibus & capiti inhumato

Particulam dare——

Hor. Od. xxviii. lib. i.

Stay, traveller, and let thy generous breast

Guess the sad tale, and bear my bones to rest:

See where, at hand, these sports of wind and wave

May find the wish'd-for, though a sandy, grave.

His body, continues Mr. Borlase, was afterwards taken up and conveyed to Westminster-abbey, and a little pit on this sandy green still shews,

—— Pulveris exigui parva munera. Ibid.

C H A P. III.

A RECAPITULATION, IN PART, OF SOME OF THE FOREGOING SHEETS.

THUS having led my reader from the earliest account of things that have happened upon the coasts of the Straits, and their neighbourhood, as also on the waters thereof, I shall, (before I describe Gibraltar) in some measure, recapitulate what has been said in the foregoing sheets, from an author of no small estimation: it is Mr. Sharpe's translation from the Latin of baron Holberg's Introduction to Universal History; which will give, in

a short view, the extensive history of Spain, serving to refresh the reader's memory, and give him a lofty idea of that country : it is by question and answer. I shall give it literally from the book, for, after what I have already said, there is no occasion for further apology.

He asks, "How Spain's history is to be divided?" The Spanish history, continues this author, is divided into several epochas; the first contains the ancient state of Spain under the Carthaginians and Romans; the second under the Goths; the third under the Saracens; and the fourth under their own monarchs.

"What was the ancient state of Spain?" Spain was anciently divided into several petty states, and therefore exposed to the insults of other nations, which, at the same time, infested this region, and fixed their habitation in it: the chief of these were the Celts, who, coalescing with the Iberians, gave it the name of Celtiberia: after this, the Carthaginians subdued the better part of Spain: but they being driven out by the Romans, all Spain became part of the Roman empire, and continued in that subjection till the fall of the western empire.

I must, with all respect imaginable to this learned and ingenious baron Holberg, observe, "That he mentions the Iberians the ancient inhabitants, and that the Celts, coalescing with them, gave it the name of Celtiberia:" of these people I have said enough; but I would rather divide Spain into five epochas than four, and say, that the most ancient inhabitants of Spain were of the line of Ham, the Mauri, who crossed the Straits, and were very soon after conquered by Hercules with his Phœnicians: now, I have shewn that Hercules was not of this line; therefore the line of Ham was broken in Spain, and elsewhere: these people migrated apace, and the wealth of Spain occasioned vast commerce from Phœnicia to its ports, particularly Gadir and Carteia; this commerce and wealth occasioned vast emigration from Phœnicia, particularly Tyre, and elsewhere: they spread through

the country to the river Ebro, the Celts mixing with these people, gave it the name of Celtiberia; but Spaneja, from whence came Spain, was from the more ancient people the Phœnicians, under Melec-cartha. Of the riches of Spain I have already spoke; I shall only here observe, that Spain abounded in mines, and yielded six hundred thousand pound weight of silver, and ten thousand pound in gold, besides what was coined (1).

Hannibal opened mines producing four hundred pound weight every year: and, though there are so many silver mines now worked in Germany, Tacitus says, that whether the Gods intended it as a blessing or not to the Germans, they had no mines in their country.

Baron Holberg then asks, "What was Spain's ancient state under the Gothic kings?"

In the decline, says he, of the Roman empire, Spain was possessed by Vandals, Silingæ, Suevians, and Alans, and lastly by the Goths. The empire of the Goths was in its most flourishing state under Ricaredus, but declining under king Vitiza, the Goths then degenerating from the virtue of their ancestors, sunk into luxury: at length under Roderic, their empire was plainly at an end; for in his reign, the Saracens, who dwelt in Africa, made an irruption into Spain, where having destroyed both king Roderic and his army of Goths, they subjugated almost all Spain, and put an end to the empire of the Goths, which had stood unshaken for about three hundred years in Spain: and, that this happened in the year seven hundred and fourteen.

Mr. Sharpe here observes in a note, that Julian was governour of Ceuta, and that he passed into Africa, and engaged Muza to undertake the conquest of Spain: that the caliph's general afterwards suspecting Julian, cut off his head in seven hundred and seventeen: that Julian is said to have been provoked to this revenge, by Roderic's having violated his daughter; but when Julian de-

(1) Holberg's Introd. to Univ. Hist. p. 172, note * by Mr. Sharpe.

fired the king to send him his daughter, he sent her, and had no suspicion of her father's treachery, having just before given him leave to go to his government on the coast of Barbary: but Roderic and his brother Coffa, had in the year seven hundred and ten put out the eyes of the Goth Vitiza, and taken possession of his kingdom: upon which, the two sons of Vitiza went into Africa with Julian. My author next asks, "What was the state of Spain under the dominion of the Saracens?"

Spain, says he, being subdued by the Saracens, the remains of the Goths betook themselves to Asturia, Biscay, and other regions situated near the Pyrenean mountains, and there bravely defending themselves against the Saracens, kept possession of the old kingdom under Pelagius their general, who first reigned over the Asturians.

In process of time several principalities started up in Spain, and various kingdoms were erected from lands and cities, taken from the Saracens, which were united into one family under the elder Sancho; so that there seemed to be an end of the empire of the Saracens: but after the death of this Sancho, the kingdom was divided amongst his four sons, which division was the source of many wars: for the Christian princes turned their arms upon one another, and wars were carried on, with various success, till that part of Spain, which was Christian, became reduced to two principal parts, or larger kingdoms, viz. the kingdoms of Castile and Arragon: this division continued till the year one thousand four hundred and sixty-nine, when Ferdinand king of Arragon was joined in marriage to Isabel, princess of Castile; for by these happy nuptials almost all the Christian provinces were united as into one family. He then asks, "What was the cause of the decrease of the power of the Saracens in this period?"

First, Dissentions and intestine wars arose among the Saracens themselves, and there were several principalities in Spain in continual opposition one to another: Secondly, The Moors were greatly degenerated from their old military virtues, and neglecting

ing arms, applied themselves entirely to study. Amongst the learned Moors, Averroes is celebrated, who translated the works of Aristotle into Arabic, and illustrated them with notes, at that time every where neglected and unknown. Cordoua was the principal seat of the Moorish kings, but afterwards, when driven by the Christians to the extreme borders of Spain, it was Granada, which, at that time, was esteemed one of the most famous cities in all Europe. During this state, they built many cities in Spain, which still retain their Arabic names, and the modern Spanish borrowed much from the Arabic dialect.

The baron then inquires, "Who were the sovereigns of all Spain?"

First, Ferdinand, by whose marriage with Isabel the power of Spain was increased to such a degree, as to provoke the envy of the rest of Europe: the Moors were not yet driven out of Spain, but Ferdinand, having put his own kingdom first in order, marched against the Moors of Granada in the year one thousand four hundred and eighty-one, and having taken most of their cities, reduced the royal city of Granada to such straits, that Bobadiles, the last king of the Saracens, was forced to surrender: thus the kingdom of the Moors, which had stood for seven hundred years, was overset in Spain: besides this, Ferdinand carried on many others with success, and was esteemed one of the most artful princes of his time. The Spanish inquisition was set up by this king in the year one thousand four hundred and seventy-eight, against the Moors and Jews, who, pretending to embrace the Christian religion, relapsed again to their former impieties. About the time of the gospel reformation, this was a horrid tribunal to the inhabitants of the whole kingdom. In the reign of Ferdinand, the West-Indies were discovered in the year one thousand four hundred and ninety-four; the islands by Christopher Columbus, and the continent by Americus Vesputius, after whom that country was called America.

Mr.

Mr. Sharpe, in this paragraph, has no less than four notes:

First, That queen Isabel is said to have made a vow, when her husband went against Granada, not to change her linen, till he had taken that city; hence, says he, the colour, called after her name, Isabel. In the reign of James the first of England, the ladies here, and in France, wore yellow lace, which a writer of that time says was most suitable to the complexions of many of them, on account of their manner of living: but this fashion was disgraced by the execution of Mrs. Turner, who, when hanged for the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury, was dressed in this yellow lace, said to have been her invention.

Second note, King Ferdinand is much blamed for his ingratitude to the great Gonzales, who had obtained so many signal victories for him against the Moors in Spain, added the kingdom of Naples to the Spanish dominions, and utterly defeated the French, in three very memorable battles.

Third note, The inquisition of Seville, in the space of forty years, condemned one hundred thousand persons for apostacy; of these four thousand were burnt, and three thousand were reconciled, and the rest fled into Barbary: by these severities, five thousand houses, according to Ilescas, were deserted.

Fourth note, America had been discovered before by Martin Behaim, a German of good family: he obtained a ship from queen Isabel about one thousand four hundred and sixty, for the discovery of land in the western ocean, and having found the island of Fyal, it was peopled, and he passed a considerable part of his life there. In one thousand four hundred and eighty-six he discovered Brazil, and the Straits, called afterwards by the name of Magellan, who, entering the apartment of the king of Portugal, saw a map of those parts, which had been made by Behaim, and undertook to go thither. This Behaim is also said to have been the first who discovered the mariners compass. Columbus did not set out upon his discovery till the year one thousand four hundred and

and ninety-two: and Americus Vesputius was later by five years. The Welch say, that it was discovered by one of their princes, who settled there: and several authorities have been produced to prove that America was known to the Ancients.

Baron Holberg goes on, and says, that Charles, grandson to Ferdinand by his daughter, was the second sovereign of all Spain: this prince, says he, than whom there was none more powerful in Europe, since Charles the Great passed the greatest part of his life in travels and in war: for besides Spain, the provinces of the Low Countries, and Burgundy, which he held by hereditary right, he was raised to the imperial dignity in one thousand five hundred and nineteen: hence he became formidable to all Europe. Francis the first, king of France, bravely opposed himself to this rising power, but unfortunately; for as he besieged Pavia in Italy, fighting in a battle, he was taken, and carried captive into Spain, in the year one thousand five hundred and twenty-two, and obtained his liberty upon hard terms, viz. that he should surrender to the conquerour the duchy of Burgundy, and all manner of right to the dominion of Flanders, Artois, Milan, and Naples, and give his children as hostages: but, having regained his freedom, he entered into an alliance with the English, Venetians, Swiss, and Florentines, took up arms again, and at length obtained peace upon more favourable terms in one thousand five hundred and twenty-nine. During this war, Charles perceiving that pope Clement the seventh opposed his designs, marching his army, he took Rome by force, pillaged the city, and besieging the pope in the castle of St. Angelo, forced him to surrender: after this, under pretence of religion, he undertook to oppress the protestant princes, and having routed their army, took the elector of Saxony and the landgrave of Hesse prisoners: but fortune now no longer seemed to smile upon him; for being distressed by Maurice, the new elector of Saxony, he was compelled to grant a truce to the protestants, which was commonly called the holy league; nor

nor was he more fortunate in the war he made with Henry the second, king of France. Grown weary therefore of governing, he resigned the imperial dignity in favour of his brother Ferdinand, and conferred Spain, with the kingdoms and provinces annexed to it, upon his son Philip. At last he ended his days in a monastery, to which he had retired for repose.

Mr. Sharpe, on this part of the baron Holberg, has the following long note: Charles the fifth, says he, within a year after he came amongst the Spaniards, rendered himself more obnoxious to them, than any other prince had ever done, by turning out the old servants of Ferdinand, who were much beloved, and putting into their places Frenchmen and Flemings: he was governed by de Chevers, a French nobleman, who sold the king's sister, a beautiful young lady, to the old king of Portugal, who had married two of her aunts, for twenty-one thousand ducats, and begged the vacant archbishopric of Toledo, worth forty thousand pounds sterling, for his nephew, a very young man. By the laws of the Castilians, which the king was sworn to observe, no foreigner was capable of holding any office or benefice, nor should any money be sent out of the kingdom; now several strangers were preferred, and above one million one hundred thousand ducats had been sent into Flanders in one year. These, and many other public grievances, added to the absence of the king in Germany, occasioned a revolt of the commons, who chose Giron and Padilla for their generals, both of them unfortunate; the first withdrawing the army from Tordefillas to Villa-Panda, gave the king's admiral, who was at hand with three thousand disciplined foot and seven hundred horse, an opportunity of seizing the former of those places. This error was so resented by the army of the commons, that Giron was forced to fly to a remote place, and, after the wars were ended, he was banished into Africa for life. The brave Padilla was taken after his army had meanly surrendered without striking a stroke, and was the next

day beheaded, with John Brava and others. Thus ended the wars of the commons of Castile. Padilla's letter to his lady, just before his execution, deserves, says Mr. Sharpe, to be read: it is as follows:

" Sennora,

" If your pain did not more trouble me, than the losing of my
 " life, I should esteem myself entirely happy; for death being a
 " thing certain to all mortals, the Almighty sheweth him a singu-
 " lar favour, whom he honoureth with such a one as mine; which,
 " though lamented by many, is doubtless acceptable in his sight.
 " It would require more time than I have, to write several things
 " which might be for your consolation; but as it cannot be al-
 " lowed, so neither do I desire to defer the reception of that crown,
 " which I hope to enjoy: you may, like a discreet woman, be-
 " wail your own misfortune, but not my death; for in so good a
 " cause, it ought not to be lamented by any. My heart, since
 " nothing else is left me, I bequeath to you, desiring you to en-
 " tertain it as a thing that most affected you. I do not write
 " to Pedro Lopez my father, because I dare not; for though I
 " was his son, in daring to lose my life, I was not heir to his
 " good fortune. I will not enlarge any further, because I will
 " not trouble the executioner to wait, nor give way for any one
 " to suspect, that to prolong my life, I enlarge my letter. My
 " servant Loffa, being an eye witness of my end, and one, to
 " whom I have communicated the secrets of my heart, shall tell
 " you what cannot be expressed herein: so I rest, expecting the
 " instrument of your sorrow, and my comfort (2)."

Baron Holberg proceeds to Philip the second, the third sovereign of all Spain, under whom, says he, the power of the Spa-

(2) See the History of the wars of the commons of Castile, by Dr. Geddes.

nish monarchy was raised to its greatest height: for Henry, king of Portugal, dying without issue in one thousand five hundred and seventy-nine, Portugal fell to the Spaniards, by means of which, Philip became master of both the Indies, from whence, as from a double fountain, flowed the riches of the world; but the revolt, which happened about this time in the Low Countries, served to exhaust this reservoir almost as fast on the one hand, as it was filled on the other, by keeping Philip and his successors continually employed, at a prodigious expence: so that Flanders might be justly called a vast whirlpool, wherein the wealth of both the Indies were ingulphed: nor was he more fortunate in the war he undertook against the English; for the fleet, which was many years in fitting out, and called Invincible, and at that time not to be matched, was partly destroyed by the English and Dutch, and partly by storms and tempests. Philip died in the year one thousand five hundred and ninety-eight: he was a prince of a great mind; for when news was brought him of the destruction of his invincible armada, he received it with great composure, saying, "Who bid them fight against winds and waves?"

Mr. Sharpe has the three following notes:

The Spanish fleet had not suffered so much from storms and tempests as had been reported. Walsingham wrote to lord admiral Howard to send home four of the largest ships, giving too easy credit to the report: to which the admiral nobly replied, "That he would sooner keep them at his own expence, than send them home, till he had more certain advice of the Spanish fleet being disabled."

Note the second, Concerning the share the Dutch had in this defeat of the Spanish armada, I do not find by any historian, that there was one ship of theirs, in any of the three famous engagements; nor is there a Dutch ship to be found in the fine tapestry, presented by them to the English, and put up in the house of lords: but in the account published in one thousand five hundred

and eighty-eight, and afterwards reprinted by Millan in one thousand seven hundred and forty-six, under the title of the state of England in one thousand five hundred and eighty-eight, it is said, p. 20. "Certain Hollanders and Zealanders offered their service, according as they are bound, in the end of this summer, since the conflict near Calais, to join with some of the English navy in the narrow seas, to defend the issuing of the duke of Parma, out of the ports of Flanders."

Note the third, Speaking of Philip's reply to the news of the miscarriage of his invincible fleet, observes, That others say it was his obstinacy, and that he was advised not to send his fleet out, in that time of the year, winter season, and long nights: and whilst some say, he thanked God it was no worse, he is charged by others, with swearing that he would waste his own crown, but he would ruin England and the queen: he had been married to Mary, sister and predecessor, on the throne, to Elizabeth: but he founded his claim to England on his being the next catholic prince, descended from the house of Lancaster. To promote this claim, pope Sixtus published a bull absolving Englishmen from their oaths of allegiance, and anathematizing all that should respect their oath or their sovereign: and the queen of Scots had made over her right and title to England, in favour of Philip by will.

The fourth sovereign of all Spain, was Philip the third, who carried on the war as unsuccessfully as ever against the Low Countries: but worn out with continual fatigues, and his finances exhausted, he entered into a truce for twelve years with the United Provinces in one thousand six hundred and nine. The next year he drove nine hundred thousand Moors out of Spain; these professed themselves Christians, but being descended from the Moors, they were not believed to be sincere in this profession. Philip the third died in one thousand six hundred and twenty-one.

Mr. Sharpe observes, that the barons did all they could to prevent the expulsion of the Moriscoes, but the clergy and the commons were too powerful for them. Money had been levied from the revenues of some great church men, for promoting the conversion of these Moors, and the clergy had neither patience, ability, virtue, credit, nor generosity sufficient for the business of conversion; and therefore they soon came to force, and opened against the Moors all the horrors of the inquisition, and of a military power. At first the artful Ximenes tried more gentle means, but he soon lost both his temper and humanity, and treated them as the worst of criminals: after this, they were compelled to be baptized, and then, if they deviated from this forced baptism, they were punished by the inquisition, as apostates, and at last they were expelled: a fatal blow to Spain, which she can never recover so long as superstition, laziness, and pride influence her inhabitants. This king Philip, under whose reign, and by whose orders, so many cruelties had been executed, is said to have been seized with great horrors at the approach of death, and to have doubted, whether the justice of God would permit him to be saved.

The fifth sovereign prince of all Spain was Philip the fourth, in the beginning of whose reign the war with the United Provinces broke out again, and continued till the year one thousand six hundred and forty-eight, when peace was made with them at Munster, by which the states of Holland were declared free and independent. This was the rise of the republic of Holland, which at this day (3), for wealth and power, is esteemed one of the principal states of Europe. Now the power of the Spaniards began greatly to diminish, Catalonia and Portugal fell off: the former was not recovered under eleven years, the latter could never be reduced, but remains to this day a separate kingdom from Spain, governed by its own kings. War was also unsuccessfully carried

(3) i. e. When baron Holberg was writing this part of his book.

on against the French; for by the Pyrenean treaty, many fair towns in Flanders, together with the country of Ruscinnon, were left in the possession of the French. Philip the fourth died in one thousand six hundred and sixty-five.

The next sovereign monarch was Charles the second, a weak prince, in whose reign Spain did not meet with a milder fate than under his predecessors: for whilst Charles carried on a lingering war with the Portuguese, he was forced at length in one thousand six hundred and sixty-nine to declare them to be an independent people, and in his wars with the French he always had the worst, losing some of the richest and best fortified towns in Flanders; but as his life was not employed to the advantage of Spain, his death rendered her the theatre of all kinds of miseries. This sixth sovereign of all Spain died in one thousand seven hundred, and in him ended, in the male line, that branch of the house of Austria: nor is it unworthy remarking, that his corpse was the most wretched relick of humanity that ever disgraced the species.

The seventh sovereign was Philip the fifth, whose son Ferdinand is the present king of Spain.

Charles the second dying without issue, a cruel tempest arose, which, as we have seen in our own times, continued long the vexation of all Europe: for Philip the fourth, leaving two daughters, the eldest, Maria Theresa, married the king of France, the other, the emperour, and both those princes took up arms, about the right of succession (4). After a tedious war, than which no age ever beheld one more sanguinary or cruel, by the treaty of Utrecht in one thousand seven hundred and thirteen, the differences were composed, on condition that Philip, prince of France, should keep Spain and America: the other regions, which hitherto hath been subject to the Spanish dominions, were ceded to the emperour Charles the sixth.

(4) Which France has more than once been obliged to renounce in the most explicit and solemn manner.

Baron Holberg then asks, "What is the present state of Spain?"

The power of the Spaniards was so great, under Charles the fifth and Philip the second, that it excited fear or envy in the rest of Europe: but that empire, extending over so many remote kingdoms and provinces, groaned under its own weight. There are not therefore wanting those who think that Spain is stronger since those provinces have been taken from her, which, for want of inhabitants, could never be maintained in dutiful obedience, and they ascribe the cause of the diminution of the Spanish empire not less to its own excessive greatness, than to the slothful negligence of those, who had the supreme power after the death of Philip the second, when Spain could scarce supply soldiers sufficient to garrison the castles in the conquered provinces, and was at such immense expence, in hiring foreign troops, that this kingdom was forced to yield up the dominion of the seas, for want of a sufficient fleet. Spain, therefore, reduced at present to its ancient boundaries, greatly supports, by sea and land, the glory of her name. As for religion, there is no country wherein it appears so uniform, and where the Romish orders are so prevalent, which is ascribed to the tribunal of the inquisition, the name of which is terrifying.

I now come to Portugal, once a part of Spain, and therefore must not be omitted.

Baron Holberg asks, "How is the history of Portugal to be divided?"

There are, says he, three periods principally to be regarded in the history of Portugal. The first comprehends the state of that kingdom under its own kings: the second under the dominion of Spain: the third under its own kings of the house of Braganza.

Mr. Sharpe here observes, that Braganza is a city in Portugal, with the title of duchy, having about fifty boroughs depending upon it, situated on the river Sabor, in the mountains near Mirande, and the frontiers of Galicia. The dukes of Braganza were of the royal family of Portugal, and had the privilege to sit under

a canopy with the kings of Spain. They have possessed the crown ever since the year one thousand six hundred and forty.

Baron Holberg then asks, "What was the origin of the kingdom of Portugal?"

Portugal, says he, with the rest of Spain, fell under the Moorish yoke, when Roderic the last king of the Goths was slain, and long groaned under their tyranny, till a certain prince of the blood royal of France, named Henry (5), came to the assistance of Alphonfus the sixth king of Castile and Leon, who was preparing for a war against the Moors: he was rewarded by Alphonfus for the bravery he shewed in fighting against the Moors, who gave him a natural daughter of his, Theresa by name, in marriage, and with her all that part of Portugal that was then in possession of the Christians, on condition, however, that he should hold it in fief of, and under service to the king. Henry died in the year of Christ one thousand one hundred and twelve.

Baron Holberg again asks, "Who were the most famous among their first kings?"

1. Alphonfus, son of the aforesaid Henry, who, having gained a victory over the Moors, was saluted with the title of king by the army. He took many towns from the Moors, and, amongst others, Olyssipo, now called Lisbon, and gave crown pieces, or bezants, for the arms of Portugal, in commemoration of the standards of five kings, which he took in war against the Moors: and having won the city of Evora, one of the principal cities in Portugal from the Moors, he instituted the order of Avis (a bird) which was confirmed by pope Innocent the fourth. The knights of this order had, for their crest, two birds sable for their arms, across fleur de lis, in field d'or, and wore a black cistercian habit: he shut up his mother in a prison, to prevent her marrying count

(5) Henry of Burgundy, grandson of Robert of France. He died at the siege of Astorga in Spain.

Tristemarç,

Tristemarc, to whom he gave his sister, which occasioned a war between him and Alphonfus of Castile.

Alphonfus the first died in one thousand one hundred and eighty-five. The kings who reigned after Alphonfus were,

2. Sancho the first, a prince, says Sharpe, of much more sense and courage than the second of the name, his grandson, who was deposed by the people to make way for his brother Alphonfus the third, and he (Alphonfus) was interdicted the kingdom, by pope Alexander and Gregory, which interdiction he despised: he was successful in his wars, and died in one thousand two hundred and seventy-nine. Alphonfus the fourth, a brave prince, who waged war both with the Moors and the Castilians, and afterwards assisted the latter against the former, in the famous battle of Tarifa, in Spain, in one thousand three hundred and forty: he reigned thirty-two years, and died in one thousand three hundred and fifty-seven, aged sixty-five. He was succeeded by Peter, a rigorous and just prince, who died in one thousand three hundred and sixty-seven. Ferdinand reigned seventeen years: in the beginning of his reign he had a war with Henry the second, king of Castile, in which the Portuguese greatly suffered; but this was made up by the mediation of the pope. Under John the first, the son of Henry the second of Castile, it broke out again, but more favourable for Portugal than before. This second war was put an end to by the marriage of John with Beatrice, only daughter of Ferdinand. He was succeeded by his brother John: there were three kings of Portugal of this name; the first was called the father of his country, had been grand master of the order of Avis, and carried his arms over to Africa with success; the second was severe and great; he quelled a faction at the beginning of his reign, by beheading the duke of Braganza, and other leaders: he was at the taking of Tangier and Azille, and gained great honour by his behaviour at the battle of Toro: he settled plantations in Africa and the Indies, and erected several

fortifications at Guinea: he died in one thousand four hundred and ninety-five, aged forty-one: the third received an embassy from the king of Ethiopia, and extended the conquests of the kings of Portugal in the Indies: he died of an apoplexy in one thousand five hundred and fifty-seven. Edward succeeded his father John in one thousand four hundred and thirty-three: he was a prince who encouraged learned men, and wrote upon government, justice, and horsemanship; but he was not successful against the Moors: he reigned about five years. Alphonfus the fifth was surnamed the African, for having taken four cities from the Moors: he was beat at the battle of Toro: Guinea was discovered by his subjects in his time: he died in one thousand four hundred and eighty-one, in the forty-ninth year of his reign. Emanuel was called the fortunate prince, and his reign the golden age: for then was the kingdom of Congo, and several places on the coast of Ethiopia, discovered: several towns in Africa were then taken, the Moors expelled Portugal, and the Jews compelled to be baptised. Sebastian made war against Abdimelec, and was defeated, and being missing for some time, was reported to have been slain. In the mean time, the Spaniards invaded the kingdom of Portugal. Some years after, a man came to Venice, and declared himself to be Sebastian, and gave such proofs as satisfied the Portuguese, that he was their king, but the Spaniards exposed him upon an ass, shaved his head, and sent him to the galleys, and after that to a prison in Spain, where he died (6). Henry was the fifth son of Emanuel, made cardinal of Portugal in one thousand five hundred and forty-two, succeeded Sebastian in one thousand five hundred and seventy-eight, and died two years after.

I shall return from this long note of Mr. Sharpe's to baron Holberg's account of the most famous among the first kings of Portugal.

(6) See a dissertation in Osborne's collection of tracts upon this Sebastian.

- | | |
|--------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. Alphonfus. | 11. Edward. |
| 2. Sancho the first. | 12. Alphonfus the fifth. |
| 3. Alphonfus the second. | 13. John the second. |
| 4. Sancho the second. | 14. Emanuel. |
| 5. Alphonfus the third. | 15. John the third. |
| 6. Dionysius. | 16. Sebastian. |
| 7. Alphonfus the fourth. | 17. Henry, who dying with- |
| 8. Peter. | out children, the Spaniards |
| 9. Ferdinand. | seized the kingdom. |
| 10. John the Bastard. | |

Holberg then asks, "What was its state under these kings?"

Under these kings, says he, Portugal increased surprisingly in wealth and power, particularly under John the second and Emanuel, when the passage was opened for a trade to the East-Indies, and the Portuguese began to engross the spice trade to themselves: before that, the merchandize of the Indies was carried through the Red sea, and by Egypt to Alexandria, and from thence to Venice: but John the second sent persons to explore, and they found the coast of Africa at the cape of Good Hope. The navigation to the Indies was perfected by his successor Emanuel: for Vasco de Gama first sailed to the coast of Calicut in one thousand four hundred and ninety-seven, and afterwards duke d'Albuquerque being sent, greatly extended the dominion of the Portuguese; the cities of Ormus, Malacca, Cochin and Goa were taken. By this means Portugal claimed to itself the most extensive commerce of Africa and Asia, to the great vexation of the sultan of Egypt and the Venetians, through whose possessions the merchandize of the East-Indies had used to pass into Europe; and therefore they left nothing unattempted, that they might frustrate the success of the Portuguese. In addition to these advantages, Peter Alvaro Caprales discovered Brazil in America; so that Portugal arrived at the summit of its glory under king Emanuel.

Mr. Sharpe has upon this the three following notes :

First, The Venetians, says he, attempted, but in vain, to ruin this trade of the Portuguese : that they even sent ship carpenters to the sultan of Egypt, to build ships for him, that he might be able to destroy the Portugal trade in Africa.

Second note, The expedition of Vasco de Gama is celebrated by Camoens, the only poet of any eminence among the Portuguese, in his *Lusiade*, ranked by monsieur Voltaire among the epic poems.

Third note, Duke d'Albuquerque, so called from a small town in Portugal : he was viceroy of the Indies, but being recalled in the year one thousand five hundred and fifteen, he broke his heart, and died the same year. The king was concerned for his loss, and made the son be called by the name of his father Alphonso, and advanced him to the highest dignities. This son wrote his father's life.

Holberg in the next place asks, " What was the state of Portugal under the Spanish dominion ? "

King Henry dying without issue in one thousand five hundred and seventy-eight, there were very great contests for the succession. The chief of those who contended for it, was Philip the second, king of Spain, who sent a powerful army into Portugal, under the command of Albano, and soon took possession of the whole kingdom. The Portuguese suffered many hardships under this dominion : for besides the Spanish yoke, which was grievous to them, they made all their enemies appear in arms against them, and particularly those of the Low Countries, who having been forbid to trade with the Portuguese by Philip, began to send their ships to the East-Indies ; and thus, to the irreparable loss of Portugal, the Indian commerce was transferred to the Dutch, where it still flourishes, to the envy of other nations.

Holberg next asks, " Who were the last kings of Portugal ? "

John

John duke of Braganza, proclaimed king by the Portuguese, having shaken off the Spanish yoke in one thousand six hundred and forty: and as Spain was involved at this time in a very calamitous war with the French, Dutch, and Catalonians, (then in rebellion) the new king had time enough to settle his affairs (7): but all that the Portuguese had possessed in India, was so entirely lost, that nothing remained to them but Goa: they were therefore compelled to make peace with the Dutch. John the fourth died in one thousand six hundred and fifty-six.

Alphonfus the fifth, in whose reign the continual war, that had subsisted between Spain and Portugal, was ended, and peace made in one thousand six hundred and sixty-eight, by which the kings of Spain renounced all right to Portugal: but Alphonfus having put an end to that war, was deposed on account of his cruelties, and the sceptre transferred to his brother Peter, who reigned peaceably thirty years, and died in one thousand seven hundred and six.

John the fifth, under whose government arts began to flourish in that kingdom.

The last question baron Holberg asks, is, "What is the present state of Portugal?"

Portugal, says he, although it may be reckoned amongst the smallest kingdoms in Europe, is yet inferiour to few of them in point of riches: for the vast produce of the commerce, which the Portuguese carry on in the East-Indies, Brazil, and other parts of Africa, is remarkably evident from hence; that upon the death of John the fourth, after a tedious and expensive war with the Spaniards, there were found fifty-six millions Portuguese in the treasury: such another instance as this, is hardly to be found in history! Portugal has no enemies to fear, but the Spaniards; and

(7) By the assistance of the French under-hand, in violation of the Pyrenean treaty, and by the English openly; to whose almost incredible valour he owed every one of his victories. Sharpe.

as Spain cannot, on account of the scarcity of coin, maintain more than twenty-five thousand soldiers in garrison on the frontiers of that kingdom, Portugal can raise an army equal to it. There is a sort of equality between them as to land forces. The Portuguese shew as blind an obedience as the Spaniards to the see of Rome. They have not much applied themselves to arts and learning, but the king that now reigns, gives great encouragement to both.

C H A P. IV.

DESIGNS UPON GIBRALTAR; BLOCKADE OF CEUTA RAISED;
GIBRALTAR BESIEGED, BUT IN VAIN; A JOURNAL OF THE
SIEGE.

IN the year one thousand seven hundred and eighteen, the town of Gibraltar seems to have been threatened; for I find that Sir George Byng failed to Naples, after he had reinforced the garrison of Gibraltar, and had landed some troops at Port Mahon; and it is also very evident that in the year one thousand seven hundred and twenty, the Spaniards intended to have surpris'd this important fortress, notwithstanding what they pretended to the contrary: for at Cadiz and Malaga they only hired a vast number of transports of their own nation, but also actually detained one hundred sail of British merchantmen, which were employed in carrying their troops, scaling ladders, and other implements of war: however, the armament was not transacted so secretly, but that the ministry had timely notice, and dispatched a courier to his majesty, then in Hanover, to know his royal pleasure: he gave orders for the squadron in the Mediterranean to repair immediately to Gibraltar bay. When the order arrived at Minorca, the governour (colonel Richard Kane) commanded five hundred men to embark with him, as soon as the two fifty gun ships were fit to receive them, who were at this time heaving down; but so

alert were those brave fellows, both seamen and soldiers, that they equipped their ships, embarked, and arrived before Gibraltar the fifth day after they had received their orders on that island. Here providence surely interposed; for the very next day after their departure, there arrived at Minorca a countermanding order; but it was too late, for our small fleet was sailed, and joined by the Dover of fifty guns, the Sheerness of twenty, and the Trial sloop, who anchored in presence of three hundred sail of the enemy, large and small, with fifteen thousand troops, ready to scale the walls. The enemy's transports were covered by six gallies of five hundred men each, and three sixty gun ships of the isle of Malta, cunningly engaged for this purpose, and likewise to protect them from the insults of the Moors, who then were besieging Ceuta: so that the Spaniards were playing here a fine game; for, under colour of raising that siege, they equipped this formidable armada, which in reality was to have taken Gibraltar by a sudden assault, and then to have relieved Ceuta; and that the equipment of capital ships might not alarm our nation, was the reason for engaging those of Malta: certain it is, that the project was so far well executed, and it is as certain that the place would have fallen into the enemies hands, had not our fleet relieved it. Our garrison at this time consisted of three very weak regiments, viz. Pierce's, Egerton's, and Cotton's. Most of the officers were absent: the garrison was commanded by major William Hetherington, and major Batteroux was the other only field officer in the place. The town was extremely short of all kinds of provisions, both in the victualling office, and in private families: by a strict survey taken by the acting town major lieutenant Robert Johnson, no more than fourteen days provisions were found in the whole garrison; the wall in very bad repair, and many Spaniards in the place. Such was the posture of Gibraltar, when our commodore sent on board the Maltese admiral to know the reason of his being in the bay, with a threat that if he did not immediately sail, he would endeavour

deavour to force him out. The men of war of Malta did not wait the discharge of our cannon, but weighed instantly. After this accident, the marquis de Leda, by order from the court of Spain, discharged the English vessels and sailed to Ceuta, though very reluctantly; for he was of opinion that the place could be taken, notwithstanding the small reinforcement by a sudden assault from the isthmus. Whilst his troops scaled the line wall, from the back of the old mole to the south bastion, his gallies at the same time were to engage our ships, to draw the fire from off their troops. I know not how far they might have succeeded, for the place was very weak, not having twelve pieces of cannon to oppose them on the line wall. The saluting battery was not then built, neither was the covert way at the back of the old mole made, nor the town battery which had neither rampart or parapet, being old Moorish houses, and very easy of access, and many other places accessible for an escalade. Colonel Kane brought with him a large Tartan laden with powder and ball. Three fifty gun ships from Sicily put into Gibraltar bay (being in want of water) when the Spaniards were preparing the above armada; these ships offered their service, advising the governour to send for the Mediterranean squadron, with a detachment from Minorca, which offer and advice was rather slighted: and after the above ships had anchored before the place ten days, they weighed and set sail: this induced the governour to send on board and beg their assistance, but he was answered that it was too late to call a council of war; that they were on their passage home, and could not answer it to his majesty. Accordingly they sailed for England, and gave an account of those formidable preparations against Gibraltar. My lord Portmore arrived in Gibraltar bay, after the marquis de Leda embarked for Ceuta, and having settled the garrison properly, returned to England, as did colonel Kane to Minorca; the siege of Ceuta was raised after the arrival of the Spanish troops, who totally routed and dispersed the Moors, and made themselves

themselves masters of their entrenchments, camp, and all their artillery. Ceuta had been besieged for twenty-six years by the Moors (8). After this fruitless attempt, the place remained unmolested till the year one thousand seven hundred and twenty-six-seven; when the Spaniards, consisting of twenty thousand men, commanded by the count de las Torres, and reinforced afterwards, encamped on the base of the hill at the back and N. W. by N. of their lines, before Gibraltar.

A return of the Spanish generals and troops that formed the siege.

Captain general: Conde de Las Torres.

Lieutenant-generals:

Major-generals:

Marquis Espinola.

Joseph de Castro.

Marquis Berbom.

Rodrigo Pelalta.

Count Glymes.

Count Zevegen.

Thomas y Diagues.

Solify Yante.

Count Mortimar.

Duke de Castro y Figuerra.

—— Villadarias.

Marquis Montreal.

Francis Ribadeo.

Marquis Torencluso.

Marquis Santander.

Geronimo Solis.

—— Luoli.

Count Diedi.

Brigadiers:

Adjutant-general:

Marquis de Torres, major. Virgilla Norana.

Francis Carillo.

Juan de Gages.

Baron Defertani.

Quarter master general:

Don Frisco de la Rua.

(8) Hist. Introd. Clarke's Spanish Nation, p. 20.

DESIGNS UPON GIBRALTAR, ETC.

Brigadiers:	Barrack master, or master of the lodgments:
Marquis de Bée.	
Joseph Cayora.	Major-general Castro Figuerre.
—— Gualipois.	
Marquis de Castelar.	Colonel:
Duke de Propoli.	Don Rodolpho Aquaviva.
Count Mariani.	
Andrew Alisto.	Commissaries in ordinary:
—— Patino.	Don Mauricio Sala, and
Dufme, captain of the grenadier guards.	—— Levilli.
	Commissaries of war:
Lieutenant colonel of the company of Provosts:	Logueur.
	Yames, and
Don Antonio de Sayas.	Carialan.

ENGINEERS:

Lieutenant general Berbom, engineer general.

Three Directors.

Artillery:

Three in chief.

Brigadier Gaizo, lieut. general.

Ten in second.

Three lieutenant provincials.

Twenty-three in ordinary.

Five commissaries provincials.

Sixteen extraordinary.

Ten in ordinary.

Eleven extraordinary.

HOSPITAL:

Don G. Burose, surgeon general and director.

Names

Names of the regiments.

	Batta- lions.		Squa- drons.
H O R S E.			
Spanish guards - - -	3	Barcelona - - -	1
Walloons - - -	3	Brabant - - -	3
Savoy - - -	2	Bourbon - - -	1
Granada - - -	2	Calatrava - - -	3
Badajos - - -	1	Malta - - -	1
Victoria - - -	2	Algarve - - -	3
Batadoli - - -	1	Seville - - -	3
Irish brigade - - -	2	Andalusia - - -	2
Voltonia - - -	1	Total -	17
Naples - - -	2		
Limbrick - - -	1		
Corfica - - -	1		
Sicily - - -	1		
Flanders - - -	1		
Antwerp - - -	1		
Mons - - -	1		
Zacomeria - - -	1		
Swiss - - -	1		
Antelinia - - -	1		
French dragoons, } dismounted }	1		
Total - - -	29		

Six companies of the corps of carbineers.

The number of horse - - - 720

Number of infantry - - - 18,550

Total - 19,270

Before they had formed their camp, the ministry had notice of their proceedings, and accordingly sent orders to Minorca for colonel Kane to repair to Gibraltar, which garrison consisted of three regiments commanded by lieutenant colonel Hargrave. At this critical juncture, two battalions were ordered home from Minorca, one of which, viz. (colonel Bisset's) was stopt by colonel Kane, and carried to Gibraltar. The ministry likewise sent Sir Charles Wager with fourteen sail of the line, four frigates and two bomb ketches, with three regiments, which were landed; and soon after, the garrison was augmented to the following list, wherein the strength of the place is shewn, in the day the siege commenced, being the eleventh of February, one thousand seven hundred and twenty-six-seven, when the earl of Portmore, being captain general and governour, Jasper Clayton, brigadier general and lieutenant governour, lord Mark Kerr, major general, with brigadier general Newton, all then being in that fortress. Here I shall just premise, that the emperour, who was offended with the opposition he had met with from Great Britain, in establishing an East-India company at Ostend, fomented the differences betwixt the courts of London and Spain, and was so successful at Madrid, that the Spaniards laid siege to Gibraltar. The bishop of Frejus, afterwards so well known by the name of cardinal Fleury, was labouring to establish a general pacification among the powers of Europe, and had prevailed upon the emperour and king of Great Britain, and the states general to agree with France in signing the preliminaries for a peace. The Spaniards, who wanted a fair pretence to withdraw from Gibraltar, after a fruitless siege of four months open trenches, where they were so often foiled and disgraced, soon after acceded to these preliminaries (9).

(9) Clarke's Spanish Nation, Introd. p. 22, 23.

The names of the regiments
that were at the siege.

Private men.	Drummers.	Corporals.	Serjeants.	Surgeons mates.	Surgeons.	Quarter-masters.	Adjutants.	Chaplains.	Ensigns.	Lieutenants.	Captains.	Major.	Lieutenant Colonels.	Colonels.	No. of the regiment.	No. of companies.
200	20	30	30	1	1	1	1	1	9	12	10	1	10	1	10	10
592	24	24	24	1	1	1	1	1	11	12	9	1	1	1	5	12
360	24	24	24	1	1	1	1	1	9	10	8	1	1	1	13	12
362	24	24	30	1	1	1	1	1	8	10	8	1	1	1	14	10
560	20	80	24	1	1	1	1	1	8	11	10	1	1	1	20	12
343	24	24	20	1	1	1	1	1	8	8	8	1	1	1	25	10
334	20	20	20	1	1	1	1	1	8	8	7	1	1	1	26	10
336	20	20	20	1	1	1	1	1	8	10	8	1	1	1	29	10
298	20	20	20	1	1	1	1	1	8	19	8	1	1	1	30	10
319	20	20	20	1	1	1	1	1	7	10	9	1	1	1	34	10
328	20	20	20	1	1	1	1	1	7	8	6	1	1	1	39	10
233	20	24	24	3	1	1	1	1	8	8	8	1	1	1	—	—
420	12	24	24	—	—	—	—	—	8	116	100	1	19	10	—	116
Total	244	276	276	14	12	10	12	2	91	116	100	1	19	10	—	116

As to the great difference in respect to the strength of the regiments, it proceeds from their different establishments, viz. those on the English establishment sixty private men per company, those on the Irish thirty-four, on Gibraltar thirty-one per company.

A detail of the guards and pickets daily mounted during the siege.							
The names of the guards.	Colonel.	Field officers.	Captains.	Saboterns.	Serjeants.	Corporals.	Private men.
The governour's guard, consisting of					1	1	15
Rock guard				1	1	2	24
Middle hill				1	1	2	20
Willis's battery			1	1	2	2	42
Signal house				1	1	2	20
South port				1	1	2	20
Castle gate					1	1	15
Main guard			1	2	3	3	60
On the line						1	6
Water port			1	2	3	3	50
Land port			2	3	3	3	100
Land port augmented at night				1	1	1	20
New mole				1	1	2	26
Europa advance				1	1	1	20
Great Europa				1	1	2	20
Quarter guards					8		96
Orderly serjeants					6		
King and prince's lines		1	6	6	11	10	200
Esplanade piquet	1	1	6	6	7	7	150
Castle picket		1	3	3	4	4	100
Total	1	3	20	31	57	49	1004

Besides the officers, and men appointed daily for the guards, which mounted every evening, and were relieved but once in twenty-four hours, there were ordered about forty odd serjeants, and above one thousand men every day for work, with their proper

per officers, under the direction of the engineer: one part of this number of workmen mounted in the morning, and wrought till night; at which time the other greater number that remained, mounted by reason of the cover of the night, and worked till morning: their business was to carry fascines, gabions, sand bags, &c. to repair all breaches sustained by the enemy's cannon: sometimes employed in working with spades and pick-axes, to dig or throw up earth, as occasion required: sometimes in transporting the cannon and mortars to their platforms, mounting and dismounting others, and carrying ammunition: in short, they were to do every thing the service required; and in order to be more active in their duty, they paraded in their waistcoats. All those men had six-pence a day, besides their pay, for their twelve hours work. The Jews were likewise employed in carrying ammunition to the batteries, and clearing the ditch from the rubbish of the upper works, beat down by the enemies shot. The piquets were a corps of reserve, which only mounted at night, and came off in the morning; their business was to succour and assist any place attacked, those piquets were often, during the siege, ordered to go a round or two with sand bags or fascines, to the several breaches, leaving their accoutrements and arms under the care of centinels, in their several covers, to which places they returned after they had carried the fascines and sand bags. They accoutred themselves, and laid on their arms all night: the subaltern officers of the pickets attended their men in the carrying the sand bags or fascines to the several breaches. The proper officers appointed for attending the workmen, did no other duty, and were subalterns chosen by the engineer out of the several regiments, who judged them fittest for his service. Those officers had half a crown a day extra pay, and were distinguished by the name of overseers, and immediately under the command of the engineer; they relieved one another as the workmen did, every twelve hours; their business was, to see the men execute the engineer's orders. Such was the

the state and order of the garrison, when the enemy who had remained encamped before the place about two months, and when they sent in our advanced guards, which then were at the wind mills, at which place they first began to break ground, and erected a battery. Colonel Clayton, who had by that time arrived at Gibraltar, and was governour, sent a parley to the enemy, desiring to know the reason of their breaking ground before the garrison: they returned this answer, "That they were upon their master's ground, and were not to be answerable to any for what they did." Upon receiving this reply, colonel Clayton fired a gun from the old mole over their heads, as a warning to desist from their intent, which was on Saturday the eleventh of February, one thousand seven hundred and twenty-six-seven, N. S. The enemy disregarded the shot, and persisted in their design of reducing the garrison to their subjection; which being perceived by colonel Clayton, he ordered all the cannon that could bear upon them, to keep as brisk a fire as possible; his commands were instantly obeyed, and the garrison kept as smart a fire as was in their power, until the enemy had advanced their parallels, and completed their batteries, which were finished on the twenty-sixth, when we were obliged to slacken our fire by reason that the powder was too fast expended. The Spaniards, having all their batteries complete, opened them with great fury against the different works of the place as follows:

Orders that were given out in the Spanish camp the twenty-second of February, one thousand seven hundred and twenty-six-seven, the day they opened their batteries, and made a proper disposition of their works.

Marquis Espinola, general of the day: Rodrigo Pelalta, the marquis de las Torres, major generals of the trenches: officers for the piquet; don Francis Carilla Casabeo, Estorga, and Juan Dios. By divine assistance, this day is to be put in execution the opening of our works and batteries against the garrison from the
Devil's

Devil's tower (now named St. Pedro) through the middle of the sands to the west strand: the parade of arms is to be established on the east strand near the Genoese cove which are to communicate with each other as far as the first battery towards them, and the rest from off the entering trenches to lie in the main trench for a guard: the troops that are to mount in the trenches are the battalions following: the first battalion of Spanish guards, the first battalion of Walloons, the first regiment of Granada, the first regiment of Naples and the regiment of Flanders, all under the conduct of the marquis Espinola Rodrigo Pelalta, and the marquis de Torres, major; and the said battalions are to stand to their arms without beat of drum exactly at four o'clock in the afternoon, and to march in front of the Spanish brigade, and from thence to their respective guards whereto they shall be detached, and there observe the orders that shall be given them on their march under the foot of the hill, and to leave none in their camp but a quarter guard to take care of their tents, and the grenadier companies are to be formed in the front of the detachment for a cover.

Twelve hundred workmen to be warned at the same hour to parade at the park of artillery, and there receive shovels, fifty hoes with three piquets to a fascine; the lieutenant general to be with the said workmen, one hundred horse for the same effect, and to take up the ground from the first parade of arms to the tower of St. Peter, where is to remain a reserve: the major general is to take up the second parade of arms from the east strand to the Genoese tower, and to detach two officers with thirty men each to take up the ground from the Genoese cove to defend the corner of the rock, in case of a fall from the garrison. According to the number of men that mount in the trenches are to be detached two hundred men to communicate with the lieutenant general to St. Peter's tower: the brigadier-general to run his trench from the Genoese cove till he joins the situation of the first battery, one colonel with three hundred men armed to follow them

from St. Peter's tower to the battery; in the front of them is to march one lieutenant colonel with one hundred men armed into the line; the company of grenadiers of Victoria's regiment; fifty French dragoons, and forty horse to remain at the west strand, leaving open the tower between the two batteries to observe the motion of any attack that may be made, or alarm, or defend the strand in case of a sally from the garrison: each of the battalions above-mentioned to send five men with their officers to form a piquet at their front which are to work according to the direction of the lieutenant general: the bloody hospital to be in the rear of the communication. The regiments to detach one hundred and twenty men each for work with one captain, four subalterns, and eight serjeants, the piquet of Voltonia's regiment to mount at night at the tens battery and dismissed in the morning.

On the twenty-third of February, at night, before the trenches were relieved, happened a false alarm by a difference between the men in the trenches who left their trenches to quarrel, the guards in the far trenches, thinking it was a sally, fired upon them; the others, thinking it might be some disembarkation, returned the fire, and so continued, till some of the officers finding the mistake, returned with their men to their trenches: after the skirmish was over, there were found above twenty killed on each side, and several wounded.

Expend

Expended during the siege of Gibraltar in one thousand seven hundred and twenty-seven.

				No.
Mortars	{	Brafs	8 inch howitzers	1
			Royals	8
			Cohorns	5
	{	Iron	13 inch	2
			Cohorns	7
			18 pounders	2
Ordnance	{	Brafs	6	2
			5 $\frac{1}{4}$	3
			32 pounders	2
	{	Iron	24	7
			18	10
			16	19
			12	12
			9	3
			6	4
			5 $\frac{1}{4}$	1
			4	4
			2	2
			32 pounders	3370
			24	3192
			18	7063
			16	800
			12	8175
Round shot	{		9	547
			8	28
			6	10602
			4	11502
			3	6534
			2	1181
			1	6

The enemies batteries which fired against the place with their number of cannon and mortars, and the description of the places at which they fired.

The names by which the English distinguished the enemies batteries.	The name by which the Spaniards distinguished them.	What part of our fortifications these batteries fired at.	Cannon.	Mortars.
The four gun battery - - -	Santa Isabella - -	{ against Willis's battery erected on an eminence of the rock to the southward - - - }	4	
The six gun battery - - -	San Joseph - -	{ against the curtain or grand breach - - - }	6	
The twenty gun battery - - -	Santa Barba - -	{ against the breach of the face of the bastion joining the breach - - - }	20	
The broken tower battery	Barbafon - -	{ against the old mole which runs into the bay for shelter to small vessels - - - }	12	
The royal battery - - -	El Conde - -	against the breach, and against Willis's battery	21	
The battery of the mill - - -	El Morelino - -	against Willis's battery	20	
The six gun battery by the strand	San Carlo - -	against the old mole - - -	6	
First bastion of mortars - - -	- - -	- - -		3
Second ditto - - -	{ batteries de los	{ flung into the town amongst the houses at		5
Third ditto - - -	Mortars }	{ Willis's battery, and in the other fortifications		5
		Total	89	13

Batteries

Batteries erected by the enemy which did not fire against the town.

Falcine battery	- - -	El Primero Levant.	This battery pointed to the Mediterranean to cover their boats that brought the falcines for the siege, and never fired but one shot, which was against a twenty gun ship of ours	2	Guns.
The horse-shoe battery	-	El Second Levant.			
Teffe, in honour of the general's quarters	- -	El Teffe			
			A battery made in the nature of a horse-shoe pointing to the Mediterranean, but never fired a shot	6	
			A battery pointing to our bay, and on February 12, 1726-7, early in the morning, fired smartly upon Sir Charles Wager's Squadron, then lying at anchor in the bay, which obliged him to move his station	13	
			Total	21	

This.

This account I copied from minutes taken by an officer on the spot: however, as I have likewise seen a printed account annexed to the plan of the mountain and bay, done by Sir Ch—s A—s and ad—l K—les, I thought it would be imprudent in me to pass it in silence, which account is as follows:

	Guns
Wind-mill battery against the new mole, of - - -	20
Royal battery against the town and Willis's, of - - -	21
Second battery against the mole, of - - -	6
Third against the mole, of - - -	12
Three batteries against the town, lines and Willis's, of - - -	12, 8, and 6
And one more against Willis's, of - - -	4
Which enfiladed the lines by ricochet firing; and lastly, one of - - -	7
Against the castle; in all - - -	96

most of which were brass; they had likewise twenty-four large mortars and forty-eight small ones; in all, seventy-two. The garrison mounted against the enemy on the grand battery twenty-one, on the mole twenty-three, in the prince's lines two, Willis's nine, in and on the side of the Moorish castle five; in all, sixty, which was thirty-six short of the enemy. The cohorns, howitzers, and large mortars in the place were one hundred and thirty-five, which were sixty-three more than the enemy.

From the above batteries of the Spaniards, they fired at the rate of seven hundred shot an hour, which lasted from break of day till twelve o'clock, and from one until sun-set, and this cannon-ading and bombarding lasted twelve days, and then ceased, on account of their running almost all their cannon: however, they still persevered in carrying on the siege, and kept a slow firing till the eleventh of June, one thousand seven hundred and twenty-seven, and at ten at night a parley came into the garrison with a cessation: the gentleman that brought it was a native of Ireland, whom

whom they suffered to enter the garrison unhoodwinked; he was prodigiously surprised to find (contrary to his, or any of the Spanish army's expectations) the ditch quite clear, and a retired fascine battery on the rampart of the grand battery, and the garrison as well prepared for enduring a siege, as at any period from their first breaking ground. I must observe, that my lord Portmore, who came with the detachment of guards, took the command from colonel Clayton, being governor of Gibraltar. Colonel Lacy settled the cessation with his lordship, which was in substance as follows: that the Spaniards were to cease firing, as was likewise the garrison; and that they should forsake the mine, which they had made under Willis's battery, which was accordingly observed on both sides; but upon the enemy's taking possession a second time of the same mine, it was by the garrison looked upon as a breach of the cessation, and the garrison was going to fire upon them, in order to make them quit the ground, and to oblige them to level their approaches and batteries, which was omitted in the cessation: but for private reasons it was omitted, and the enemy took their time in drawing off their cannon and mortars, and then retreated to their different cantonments, and so ended the siege. The Spaniards never made the least attempt by sea to reduce the garrison, so that the town had an open communication, protected by the fleet, which was of great service, as the place was supplied with provisions from Barbary, and likewise with fascines, which were made near the garrison of Ceuta. The garrison of Gibraltar lost very few men in the course of the siege, and fewer officers; but soon after the soldiers, through excess of drinking and want of exercise, died in vast numbers: for it is computed that five hundred were buried in three months. I must likewise observe, that the mine under Willis's battery was originally a cave, the entrance of which was twenty feet in diameter, and a little way within, and on the right inclining under Willis's, branched off another cave of the same diameter, at the end of which being five feet

feet broad and five feet high at ninety feet distance from the entrance, the enemy began to cut a way in the rock, in order to lodge their mine under Willis's, which they proposed blowing up; but after all their great labour, the rock being excessive hard, they only mined ten feet, and no more. I have heard some people say, there was no cave, before the Spaniards made one by blowing for a lodgment for their mine; for, say they, there was a vein of earth in the rock, which the enemy perceiving, were by that means tempted to blow up the galling battery of Willis's: however, there was a cave, because I have been credibly informed by those that have been in it: it is now filled up, and faced with stone, and the earth taken from the foot of it, where the entrance before was; therefore it would be difficult for the enemy to lodge themselves in it, were they to attempt a third siege. I have often visited this blind before the cave, and must confess I could not discover, either above, below, or on any side, the least signs of veins of earth, but rather to the contrary; for the rock on this side is of a very hard nature, between the purbeck stone and bastard marble; and I may venture to say, that there are no veins of earth in any of the perpendicular sides of this rock, whereas caves there are many: neither is it natural that here should be veins of earth in the solid rock, because here is so general an inclination to petrefaction, and of course the vein of earth, had there been any, would have felt the same natural impulse at the same time, when the hill first felt that stroke of Providence: but before we conclude this chapter, it may be requisite to give a more particular account of the siege of twenty-seven, and having been favoured with an exact journal thereof, I take the liberty to insert it.

This journalist is pleased to inform us, that on Thursday, February the second, one thousand seven hundred and twenty-seven, O. S. lieutenant general Clayton landed from on board his majesty's ship Tyger, in fifteen days from Portsmouth, and found count de las Torres encamped within a league of the town with a body of
fourteen

fourteen or fifteen thousand men: Sir Charles Wager, with a squadron of six ships, having on board three companies of colonel Anstruther's, eight companies of colonel Disney's, and six of colonel Newton's regiment, which were landed.

Friday the third.

As were the remaining companies of the said regiment, except one of colonel Newton's, and two of colonel Anstruther's, which still remained on board.

Thursday the ninth.

Betwixt the third and ninth, nothing extraordinary happened: the governour frequently visited the ports and fortifications.

Friday the tenth.

The Spaniards being seen in the evening to bring down near the mill great quantities of gabions, fascines, and working tools, the governour thought fit to call a council of war of the commanding officers of the several regiments: early in the morning we discovered the Spaniards working on a battery by the mills.

Saturday the eleventh.

At nine in the morning, Mr. Cockayne, the governour's secretary, was sent to the count de las Torres, with a letter from the governour, in pursuance of the resolutions of the council of war: at eleven he returned with the count's answer, which not giving satisfaction, at four in the afternoon a gun was fired over the battery where they were working, in order to make them desist, but they continued to work: in an hour after, we fired again from the old mole and Willis's battery, and so continued.

Sunday the twelfth.

This day came in fifteen deserters, and one prisoner was made, being taken within the advance guard; the firing continued from Willis's, the old mole, and prince's lines all day and night: the enemy having on Saturday night broke ground at the Devil's tower, and thrown up three lines, two within some few paces of one another, and one upon the right parallel, extending towards

the mill, which made us fire from Willis's battery both cannon and small arms, and a great many shells; and so it continued all night, as also from the prince's lines and the old mole at their battery by the mill: about four they were seen carrying off an officer: this morning they fired at the Portland man of war from their battery, she lying nearest; on which the admiral hoisted a red flag on the main-top-mast head, then the Portland returned the fire, and changed her birth.

Monday the thirteenth.

The enemy joined their parallel last night, which is all they could do: last night came in the Cruizer sloop, and another ship with provisions from Tetuan, and a letter from the bashaw to the governour. The admirals with their squadron sailed to the westward, but the wind coming about, they were obliged to come to an anchor: about five in the evening, the men of war's boats took a sloop (or small bark) in the bay going to the enemy with planks, eight butts of wine, and one of brandy: the fire was made briskly on their battery, and the small arms from the prince's lines and Willis's on their trenches.

Tuesday the fourteenth.

The enemy carried on a line of communication about two hundred yards towards their battery, but a great way from the town: in the evening, the admirals came into the bay, and anchored: our firing continued all day from the king's and prince's lines, old mole, and Willis's battery.

Wednesday the fifteenth.

The firing continued, and the enemy carried on their line of communication towards the battery.

Thursday the sixteenth.

Last night came in a deserter: he says our cannon and shells and the firing from the ships have done execution, as also the mines, where the rocks have killed and wounded several. The enemy worked very little last night, but were discovered repairing

a battery on the western shore, in order to hinder the ships from firing on them.

Friday the seventeenth.

This morning sailed Sir Charles Wager and admiral Hopson, leaving behind them the Tyger, Winchester, Swallow, and Portland, two of which are cruizing behind the hill. Last night the Winchester sent in two boats taken from the enemy: they wrought very little last night.

Saturday the eighteenth.

The enemy went on very slowly; it rained pretty hard this morning, and the Spaniards were discovered to throw out a vast quantity of sand from their trenches, which the violence of the east wind had blown into them: they began upon a battery to the left of the mill, which in all probability they intend to join to the other.

Sunday the nineteenth.

Last night it rained very hard, which prevented the enemy from working: our cannon and mortars fired upon them: this morning came in one of the transports from Corke: off cape Spartel she met with Sir Charles Wager, who took two companies she had on board of colonel Hay's regiment, and put the men on board the ships of his squadron, and sent the transport in, being apprehensive the enemy's row-boats might attack and take her.

Monday the twentieth.

Nothing extraordinary happened this day: the fire from the town continued; the rain hindered the enemy from working much, having begun a new parallel, but advanced it very little.

Tuesday the twenty-first.

Last night the enemy wrought but little: a serjeant who deserted, reports, that the enemy's batteries are ready to fire: the fire from the town continued as usual.

Wednesday the twenty-second.

This morning, at break of day, the enemy began to fire from their batteries consisting of eighteen pieces of cannon, and two

mortars: both sides fired very briskly; their weight of fire was chiefly at the prince's lines and Willis's, where a man of colonel Anstruther's regiment was killed: their work last night was a zigzag to cover their battery.

Thursday the twenty-third.

The enemy carried on a line, which went through the garden towards their long line of communication, and joined parallel with the work in the blown-up tower, and brought it down to the strand: both sides made a brisk fire. This morning a sentinel in the prince's line had his head shot off. Colonel Kane failed in the Solebay for Minorca.

Friday the twenty-fourth.

The enemy repaired their batteries which had been damaged, and worked a little in their trenches: the fire was pretty brisk on both sides: they dismounted a gun in the prince's line, but another was soon mounted in its place. A man of colonel Anstruther's was hurt by the stones at Willis's: a deserter came from the enemy, by the back of the hill, and was fetched from thence by a man of war's boat.

Saturday the twenty-fifth.

The enemy fired very little all night: this morning we find they have begun another battery on the left of the other, but two hundred paces advanced, and they have laid out eighteen embrasures.

Sunday the twenty-sixth.

Last night the enemy worked on their new battery, and carried on their approaches by the water side, notwithstanding the continual fire that was made upon them: the men of war's boats took a bark laden with fascines, and another with ballast: this evening some shells blew up at Willis's, but did no harm: our firing continued.

Monday the twenty-seventh.

Last night the enemy wrought but very little: this morning came in a prize, the Royal Oak, taken off cape Spartel of thirty-

two guns, one hundred and fifty men, laden with wine, brandy, and oil, bound for Carthagena in the West-Indies: by her came two companies of colonel Hay's regiment, taken out of the transport by Sir Charles Wager: it has rained and blowed very hard this day: our fire continued though rather less than before.

Tuesday the twenty-eighth.

The enemy worked but little, the rain continuing: the two companies of colonel Hay's regiment commanded by captains Powel and Montgomery, were landed. The fire continued from the garrison: a gun dismounted at the head of the prince's line.

Wednesday March the first.

This day being the princess of Wales's birth day, at noon three volleys were fired from all the guns and mortars that could bear on the enemy: came in six deserters by the back of the hill: they say they are endeavouring to undermine and blow up Willis's battery: in the evening came in a trumpet with letters for the governor and captain Davis, with an account that the *fietia*, which the latter had fitted out to cruize, was cast on shore by the violence of the weather, near the Spaniards battery, and the people in her, being a lieutenant of the Winchester, twenty-four sailors, one serjeant and two men out of each regiment in the garrison were made prisoners. The Lime man of war came in from Port Mahon. The enemy wrought but little, except clearing their lines from the sand which the violent winds had blown in among them.

Thursday the second.

This morning a drum of the garrison was sent by sea to the count de las Torres concerning the prisoners, offering in exchange as many men from the prize: the enemy have begun to raise another battery about two hundred paces nearer than the second: a gun split this morning at Willis's, killed one man, and wounded another: at three in the afternoon the drummer returned with count de las Torres's answer to captain Davis about the prisoners:

a general court martial was held this day on a soldier of colonel Egerton's regiment for murder: he was condemned to die.

Friday the third.

The enemy working on their new battery, and this morning they began to fire from the second battery with twenty-one guns, and broke a gun upon the curtain of Land port; the same day came in a deserter: they fired very briskly at different places, and we on our part answered them: they have made several small breaches in the prince's line, which are repaired with sand bags: our two guns on prince William's battery in the lines are of no service; the one being dismounted by the enemy, and the merlons beat down: the governour ordered the other to be this night dismounted and carried off.

Saturday the fourth.

The enemy continued to work on their battery, and made an epaulement, and threw up two lines to secure it: a deserter came in: the enemy fired all day long very briskly, and we the same: a shot came into the convent (the governour's house) but did no harm. A soldier of Egerton's regiment was killed in the prince's line.

Sunday the fifth.

This morning, captain Holman of the artillery was killed on the royal battery. A man of Bisset's was killed in the covered way at Land port, being a centinel. A grenadier of Anstruther's regiment had both his legs shot off by a cannon ball in the streets: three more deserters came in: this day it rained violently, and so continued all night. The enemy worked on their new battery, and formed a new parallel: they fired very briskly, and we as usual.

Monday the sixth.

Last night two men of lord Mark Kerr's deserted, both Frenchmen. This day about noon a gun burst on Britain's battery, which killed one man, and wounded another: this afternoon we had

had some showers of rain: at night the Colchester man of war came in, and brought a company and a half of colonel Hay's regiment, which she took from on board a transport in Lagos bay: the firing as usual.

Tuesday the seventh.

The enemy wrought last night at their new battery, and threw up another intrenchment for its further security; they fired very hard all day, and in the afternoon we saw their army drawn out, and they made a feu de joye.

Wednesday the eighth.

This morning the enemy opened their new battery, and fired fifteen guns from it, this is chiefly levelled at the old mole: a gun burst, and wounded a man of general Pearce's regiment.

Thursday the ninth.

They worked but little last night, and that was to strengthen their line: the Dursley galley came in from Lisbon last night with money for the garrison: he brings advice, that some Spanish ships from the Havannah, under the command of admiral Castinetta, were got into Cadiz; and that they had on board eight million pieces of eight: this we suppose occasioned their feu de joye the other day: they have fired this morning but very little, which we apprehend proceeds from some disorder in their batteries. This afternoon Mr. Kenwarick, a volunteer, had his arm shot off by a random shot in the great street. At night a deserter came in, who says, their batteries are in great disorder, especially their last: a gun dismounted on Britain's battery.

Friday the tenth.

The enemy worked last night on a bomb battery, and repaired their other batteries. This morning they threw a great many shells at the front of the town: our fire was as usual: a thirty-two pounder burst on Britain's battery, killed a gunner, and a man of Bisset's.

Saturday

Saturday the eleventh.

The enemy wrought last night at their new battery: their other batteries were very silent all this day, which we imagine proceeds from some unforeseen difficulty: a deserter came in last night, he reports their army to be ten thousand strong effective men; he swam from the mill battery to Water port: the enemy still at work on their bomb battery.

Sunday the twelfth.

This morning came in two deserters, who say, they have fifty-six pieces of cannon, which is their whole number being in their park, and three mortars mounted: their mine goes on but slowly, the rock being very hard. A man of general Pearce's had his arm shot off in the street. At four o'clock in the afternoon, a flag of truce came in from the camp, with a French merchant, who came about the prize sent in by admiral Wager: at eight at night he returned and carried fifty-six pistoles for the subsistence of the prisoners. About nine came in two deserters: the enemy fired but little, and threw but few shells.

Tuesday the fourteenth.

The enemy wrought but little last night, and that to strengthen their lines: a gun burst this morning at the old mole head, and killed a man: a shell fell into the guard at the rock above the prince's line, and killed a man of Bisset's. This evening came in a deserter: the enemy's batteries have been very silent all day.

Wednesday the fifteenth.

Last night came in a deserter, a serjeant: lord Forbes brought in a Spanish man of war, with forty-six guns mounted, taken by the Royal Oak; she is called Nostra Sennora de Rosaria. A trumpet came in this evening with letters from the count de las Torres to captain Davis, and the captain of the first prize. A soldier of Bisset's wounded in the lines: the enemy's fire the same as yesterday. We saw twelve gavers from the west go to the camp, unmolested by our fleet.

Thursday

Thursday the sixteenth.

Came in a deserter this morning: a drummer was sent to the camp with an answer from lord Forbes and captain Davis, and subsistence for the seamen. The enemy threw about thirty shells last night, and this morning began to fire briskly, and throw shells, and so continued all day: we the same. The Dursley and lord Forbes sailed for Lisbon, and a great many merchant ships with them. A man of Bisset's had his arm shot off in the lines, and another of lord Mark Kerr's in the great street by a shell. The drummer returned with an account that count de las Torres is sick.

Friday the seventeenth.

The enemy worked very little. This morning came in a deserter: they fired little, but threw a great many shells, which did little damage, and only wounded two men. Nothing else extraordinary happened.

Saturday the eighteenth.

The enemy's work last night was only to strengthen their lines. This morning a mortar burst at Willis's, but did no mischief. At ten, captain Pettit, an Irishman, in the Spanish service, came to Land port with letters to captain Davis and lord Forbes, with which he was sent on board, and returned by sea; the captain and another person that was taken in the Rosario going with him, they having leave to go to Cadiz upon their parole for fifteen days: the governour sent a message by the captain to count de las Torres to desire he would send no more by land; but if he has any thing to offer, to send by sea.

Sunday the nineteenth.

The enemy made very little progress in their works, and fired very little: a gun burst on Britain's battery, broke a gunner's leg, and dismounted another gun. A flag of truce came to the new mole, with the Spaniard that went from this to go to Cadiz, the count de las Torres telling him, he would not let him return to

his imprisonment, so he chose to come back. In the evening they fired more than usual.

Monday the twentieth.

The enemy worked last night on their batteries to repair the damage they had sustained by the weather and our batteries: they fired very little last night: about ten in the morning they shot down some of the pallisadoes in the ditch of Land port, that were setting up, and a shell beat down some more of them: in the evening came from Cadiz, in a French merchant ship, one Mr. Hay, an English merchant, with letters for Sir Charles Wager. A flag of truce came from camp about exchange of prisoners to captain Davis, and soon afterwards returned. A man of Pearce's missing.

Tuesday the twenty-first.

The enemy's work last night was on their new battery for mortars, towards the eastern shore, intended, as we judge, to play on Willis's and the prince's lines. This morning came in a deserter. The Portland got under sail to go to Sir Charles Wager, but was forced to come to an anchor again.

Wednesday the twenty-second.

This morning came in three deserters. It rained very hard from two in the morning and continued so all day, which has prevented our judging what their works have been. A soldier was killed by negligence in loading a gun at Willis's.

Thursday the twenty-third.

The rain continued very hard all night and part of the day, but notwithstanding, they have perfected the bomb battery near the Devil's tower, and began this morning to throw shells from two mortars from thence, and fired in the night pretty much on the prince's line. A soldier of Pearce's deserted from the covered way at Land port last night. The enemy's work was on their batteries.

Friday the twenty-fourth.

The rain continued all night and part of the morning very hard: the enemy threw more shells last night than they have done any time

time before, and especially at Willis's. A man of colonel Anstruther's and a gunner killed with two wounded by the same shell on the curtain. A man also wounded in the prince's line.

Saturday the twenty-fifth, and Sunday the twenty-sixth.

The enemy worked very little: nothing extraordinary happened, except that a deserter came in.

C H A P. V.

A JOURNAL OF THE SIEGE CONTINUED.

Monday March the twenty-seventh.

THIS morning came in a deserter. Last night came in the Torbay with colonel Middleton's regiment, and the remaining six companies and a half of colonel Hay's. Several ordnance store ships and provisions came under her convoy, and the officers of colonel Disney's, colonel Anstruther's, and colonel Newton's, that were sent to recruit in Portsmouth, returned with one hundred and forty-eight recruits and officers belonging to other regiments: also arrived with the Torbay two engineers and a captain of the artillery, with bombardiers, gunners, and mattrosses: in the afternoon came in Sir Charles Wager, with all his squadron, except the Poole fire ship. The enemy continued to throw shells, chiefly at Willis's, and go on very slowly in their approaches: the rains have very visibly affected their batteries and trenches. Two deserters came in.

Tuesday the twenty-eighth.

This day a camp was formed at the new mole, Rosia, and the camp; and the regiments of general Pearce, lord Mark Kerr, and colonel Egerton marched thither, and encamped, and Hay's and Middleton's regiments landed in the afternoon and took their quarters. A soldier of colonel Egerton's regiment had his head shot off as he was standing centinel by the white convent.

Wednesday the twenty-ninth.

The enemy were heard to work at the new batteries they have laid out; and threw shells all night at Willis's, the lines, and the north part of the town. The wind coming easterly, several merchantmen sailed to the westward under convoy of the Portland.

Thursday the thirtieth.

The enemy worked on their batteries, and threw but few shells, and those directed to Willis's and the lines, but fired a great number of shot from their cannon at those ports. Colonel Lacy, of the Irish regiment of Ulster, with a flag of truce came from the enemy on board the admiral at noon, to propose an exchange of prisoners, and returned after dinner.

Friday the thirty-first.

The enemy continued to work on their four new batteries, and raised the merlons of that towards the eastern shore to the proper height. Captain Hardy was sent this morning with a flag of truce to the count, in relation to yesterday's proposals. At night came in two deserters. They fired very little all day, only a few shells.

Saturday April the first.

The enemy completed a battery by the gibbet of six guns. They fired very little in the night and this morning; the same all day. A grenadier of Disney's missing, and we suppose deserted.

Sunday the second.

The enemy worked but little last night. This morning at two o'clock, four fifty gun ships, one twenty gun ship, and two sloops got under sail, in order to attack the little island near Algezira, upon which the enemy have a battery; but it being calm, they were not able to proceed, and so came to an anchor again. About eleven came in a deserter: another was following, but overtaken and carried back. The enemy fired very little all day.

Monday the third.

Last night a shell fell into the head of the prince's line where our men were firing, and killed a man of Disney's, one of Bisset's, and

and one of Newton's. The enemy worked very little last night. A flag of truce went from the admiral to the count, and returned after dinner with the agreement for the exchange of prisoners. We saw several wheel carriages upon the strand going towards their works.

Tuesday the fourth.

The enemy worked last night at their batteries, but (as we judge) very little: a flag of truce came on board the admiral with colonel Lacy, who dined with him, and returned in the evening. At eight at night came in a deserter.

Wednesday the fifth.

The enemy's work last night was much the same as the night before. This morning the admiral sent ashore the prisoners taken in the prizes, except the captain and lieutenant of the Rosario, and the captain of the St. Jago, and three passengers: amongst them was sent the prisoner taken the twelfth of February. About eight in the evening came in a deserter, at night another: at nine a soldier of general Pearce's deserted from the covered way, at Land port, was got as far as beyond the gallows, but was pursued and taken by Mr. Forward, a volunteer in the same regiment. The Colchester with three transports sailed for Tetuan for fascines, piquets, &c.

Thursday the sixth.

Last night the enemy worked but very little: at two in the morning a volley of ninety shells and twelve guns was fired at them. This morning several Spanish vessels, that went from the camp were chased back by the Cruizer and Hawk sloops; and several armed boats were sent to attack them, but they got under cover of the enemy's batteries. At six in the evening came a flag of truce with the prisoners taken in the *fictia*, of which we had an account the first of March. About nine at night came in a serjeant who deserted from the enemy. A soldier of Pearce's wounded in the prince's line.

Friday the seventh.

The enemy continued to work on their battery, and heaped up great quantities of sand on their merlons, and fired very little.

Saturday the eighth.

The enemy still worked on their batteries and perfected fourteen merlons. This morning came in an Algerine cruizer, a sietia, and went into the new mole. At night came in a deserter.

Sunday the ninth.

Nothing extraordinary happened, they fired but little.

Monday the tenth.

This morning came in the Solebay with four transports from Minorca having on board colonel Cosby, lieutenant colonel Montague, major Leighton and a detachment of eight captains, eight lieutenants, eight ensigns, twenty-four serjeants, twenty-four corporals, twelve drummers, and four hundred and twenty-four private men, to reinforce the garrison. What work the enemy did was upon their batteries. The detachment landed in the afternoon, and encamped to the southward.

Tuesday the eleventh.

From two this morning it rained very hard, and the wind blew very strong at east. We could see their trenches full of water. They have finished the merlons of two batteries, being twenty, and some of that battery that lies near the bay, betwixt the mill battery, and that on this side the blown-up tower.

Wednesday the twelfth.

The enemy worked last night on their new batteries; for some days past their fire has been very little. This day Sir Charles Wager and admiral Hopson sailed to the westward, leaving behind six men of war and the sloops under the command of captain Davis. A flag of truce came on board the commodore, and brought some prisoners. About eight in the evening came in a deserter.

Thursday the thirteenth.

The enemy continued to work on their batteries, and fired very little all day. At nine at night came in a deserter. Fri-

Friday the fourteenth.

The enemy's work the same; and as we observed, they heaped great quantities of sand on the merlons: last night a soldier of colonel Tyrrel's regiment was killed by a stone in the prince's line.

Saturday the fifteenth.

The enemy worked on their new batteries: at noon came in a deserter. The men of war took a Tartan loaded with bedding and some small arms for Ceuta. This afternoon the works at the old mole were finished, to strengthen the parapet with barrels of sand and fascines, which they had worked upon for some time past; and there are now mounted upon it twenty-two pieces of cannon, which all bear on the enemy's approaches.

Sunday the sixteenth.

This morning came in a deserter: the enemy still work on their batteries: the governour made a disposition for a small sally on them to be executed at the full of the moon: at that time two serjeants with ten men each marched out of the covert way, one on the strand, and the other to the front of the rock, from both which ports, according to their orders, they fired on the enemy and retreated: the disposition was, (after they had fired) that all the mortars and cannon that could bear on the enemy were to fire upon them, as soon as we begun to throw shells from two howitzers below the north bastion, which was to serve as a signal to the rest: but the bombardier who was on that post fired without orders; and was accordingly followed by all the batteries, which spoiled the design; however, the enemy's camp was alarmed by it.

Monday the seventeenth.

The enemy continue to work at their batteries, and we perceive they have brought to the garden near them fourteen brass cannon, and that they are bringing more from their camp. A flag of truce went from captain Davis, and returned this afternoon.

Tuesday

Tuesday the eighteenth.

The enemy wrought but little last night. This morning we saw one of their merlons of their new six gun battery on fire, and notwithstanding our continual fire, and throwing shells, they put it out in an hour and a half. This morning a soldier of lord Mark Kerr's attempted to go down from Willis's battery on that side towards the Devil's tower; but being discovered, and not coming back when he was called, the captain of the guard ordered him to be fired at, which they did and killed him.

Wednesday the nineteenth.

The enemy still wrought on their batteries. We had a gun burst at Willis's, and another dismounted: they brought a line of gabions in front of their six gun battery, and begun a four gun battery on the left of all: this night at twelve came in a deserter: in the night three men were killed at Willis's by a shell, and a gun dismounted.

Thursday the twentieth.

The enemy made a very great progress last night in their batteries, and carried on a line from the six gun battery towards the line of communication, and began a new bomb battery. A ship arrived from London with recruits, colonel Elrington and other officers on board. Two men killed at Willis's.

Friday the twenty-first.

The enemy worked but little last night. This afternoon came in the prince Frederick with lord Portmore, lord Mark Kerr, and many officers for the garrison, with a battalion of the first regiment of guards, under the command of colonel Guise, colonel Clayton's regiment, and colonel Watson of the artillery, with twelve brass guns, and other stores for that service: also several volunteers, among whom were lord James Cavendish, lord Henry Beauclerk, lord Charles Hay, and lord viscount Coote.

Saturday the twenty-second.

The enemy continued to go on with their batteries, and are raising their new one of four guns, pointed directly for Willis's.
Middleton's,

Middleton's, Anstruther's, Disney's, and Bisset's regiments went to encamp to the southward.

Sunday the twenty-third.

The enemy continued working on their batteries, and drew their guns thither. This morning the guards and colonel Clayton's regiments landed, and went into the quarters of those regiments that went to camp.

Monday the twenty-fourth.

The enemy still worked at their batteries, and were heard to draw their guns thither; they finished their four gun battery: a gunner killed at Willis's: at night came in a deserter: an eighteen pounder burst at Willis's.

Tuesday the twenty-fifth.

The enemy last night threw up a zigzag in the front of their battery nearest the western shore; and we now perceive they have brought their cannon into their batteries: two grenadiers of Hay's deserted from Water port, and swam to the enemy, one of whom we hear was drowned: a four pounder burst at Willis's by a shell from the enemy.

Wednesday the twenty-sixth.

This morning at five the enemy opened their new battery, and fired all day long with great fury at the old mole, Willis's, the front of the town and prince's lines: they dismounted several guns, three men were killed and several wounded: lord Harry Beauclerk was struck by a stone on the grand battery and slightly bruised.

Thursday the twenty-seventh.

The enemy's fire the same as yesterday, and have dismounted more guns and battered the old mole head very much: came in a deserter: an eighteen pounder broke at the queen's battery: a six pounder dismounted at Willis's: a man killed on Britain's battery, and one killed and three wounded at Willis's: the enemy have made no advance, as we can perceive.

Friday the twenty-eighth.

The enemy's fire as the former two days: lieutenant Norris, of colonel Newton's regiment, was wounded in the street near the parade by a cannon shot. Two thirty-two pounders dismounted on Britain's battery, and a man killed there: one killed and one wounded at Willis's. The enemy have made no advance.

Saturday the twenty-ninth.

The enemy fired as usual, and very much at Willis's, where they dismounted one of the two remaining guns: two gunners killed on Britain's battery: a gun dismounted on the grand battery: the old mole head battered very much, and two embrasures almost ruined, but repaired: the brass cannon are getting ashore.

Sunday the thirtieth.

The enemy still continue a brisk fire from all their batteries as before, it has been observed, that betwixt their rounds of firing, there has not been a difference of above six minutes; they have from the twenty-sixth dismounted ten guns on the old mole: on the curtain and north bastion remain sixteen, and at Willis's one; by their continual firing, they have made several breaches in the curtain; the rubbish of which fell into the ditch, but has been constantly carried off every night: the same happens in the lines: a great number of fascines were carried up last night to Willis's, to make a new parapet; the old one being entirely ruined: the enemy have made no approaches, but only thrown up a great quantity of sand at the end of the parallel that runs towards the line of communication on the Mediterranean side, in order, as we suppose, to cover themselves from the fire of Willis's: three guns dismounted on the north bastion, on Britain's battery and the old mole head, where the two embrasures that were repaired last night, are quite ruined: this day killed two, wounded two.

Monday May the first.

The enemy still continued their great fire, but made no advances: we began last night to strengthen the old mole, with
butts

butts filled with sand and fascinated; the head of it is rendered irreparable: a six pounder was mounted this morning at Willis's: lieutenant Newton, of colonel Egerton's regiment, killed by a cannon shot in the prince's line: a man of the said regiment deserted: lieutenant Norris died of his wounds: the Dursley sailed to the fleet.

Tuesday the second.

Last night the enemy carried on their parallel towards the great line of communication which runs behind the rock twenty paces: their fire is very brisk, but somewhat slackened from what it was: the parapet at Willis's is carried on, and two six pounders mounted there: we are hard at work at the old mole: an eighteen pounder burst on the curtain, and killed the gunner that fired it: the muzzle of a thirty-two pounder broke on Britain's battery.

Wednesday the third.

The enemy made no advance, but were heard to work on their batteries; they fired much less than before; their batteries seem to be much disordered: they have ruined the parapet of Britain's battery, and the guns are drawn off: a Moor belonging to an Algerine galley killed on Britain's battery, by a shot from the enemy, who threw a great many shells for twenty-four hours past: we had two men wounded: a gun disabled at the old mole: a six pounder disabled by a shot, and a sixteen pounder rendered unserviceable on the grand battery, by firing: this night we began to make a cover for the guard at the rock on the prince's line, to cover them from the stones: a serjeant of the guards wounded.

Thursday the fourth.

The enemy have not approached at all; and their fire much lessened, firing now from forty guns: two deserters came in: a gun burst at the old mole; another unserviceable by firing: the merlons at the old mole head are now finished, and are better than they were at first: the merlons on the queen's battery which the enemy had demolished, are also repaired, and twelve guns mounted:

Mess. Stirley and Noble taken up: a man of Middleton's deserted, swimming from the old mole.

Friday the fifth.

The enemy last night brought a line of gabions from the left of their six gun battery to the left of their eight gun battery, extending about thirty paces: their fire as yesterday: two guns at the old mole disabled, and one dismounted: a brass eighteen pounder cracked, and a twenty-four pounder dismounted at the grand battery, on the curtain, as were also two howitzers: as we were drawing a brass gun at South port, it broke down, and killed one man, and wounded two.

Saturday the sixth.

Last night the enemy lengthened their twelve gun battery, and worked hard in repairing their batteries: the fire on both sides as usual: this morning we fired five guns from Willis's, the parapet being almost finished: two deserters came in by the back of the hill: a gun split at the old mole by a shot from the enemy; a brass gun cracked, and a sixteen pounder dismounted at the grand battery: a man killed at Willis's, four wounded on the prince's lines, and two on the grand battery: one of the above deserters could not come in: four ships sailed for Tetuan to fetch fascines. Came in the Dursley and Thunder from the fleet with four hundred and forty barrels of powder.

Sunday the seventh.

The enemy's work last night was on their batteries, and parallels advanced, in strengthening them: their fire is much abated, having fired this day but from nineteen guns: we have now seven guns mounted at Willis's, and we are working still on the parapet: we had this day and last night four killed and four wounded, and a man of Disney's deserted: ensign Stubbs of colonel Egerton's shot himself in his tent.

Monday the eighth.

The enemy made no advance last night: a sixteen pounder broke at the old mole; their fire slackens very much, and we discover

cover a great many of their guns to be blown up, and others dismounted: a man killed at Willis's, and four wounded at different places.

Tuesday the ninth.

The enemy last night threw a great many shells into the lines, which hindered the workmen from working thereon; eight embrasures finished at the old mole, and six guns mounted: a serjeant of Egerton's that was to patrol, deserted to the enemy: the parapet of Willis's finished: two killed and two wounded.

Wednesday the tenth.

The enemy made no approaches, and fire from twenty-eight guns: two deserters came in: one man killed and one wounded.

Thursday the eleventh.

The enemy completed that parallel that runs from the six gun battery to the grand line of communication, which was all the work they did except dressing their batteries. An accident happened near them by some powder being blown up by one of our shells, though it seemed to be but a small quantity: they, (as deserters inform us) supply their batteries once in twenty-four hours: they fired from twenty-six guns.

Friday the twelfth.

The enemy last night advanced the zigzag by the bay about one hundred paces in four different lines, which does not yet come within reach of our musketry: they cleared the front of their batteries from the brush of the fascines, and repaired them a little: they have brought guns to complete their six gun battery by the water side. At the beginning of the night they threw a few shells, their fire this day has been very moderate: a sixteen pounder burst on the old mole, on which were mounted this night two twelve pounders: three ships arrived from Tetuan with fascines, &c. about noon came in two deserters: two men wounded at the grand battery; and two by a shell in the street.

Saturday

Saturday the thirteenth.

The enemy last night strengthened part of their zigzag; but nothing appears to have been done to their batteries, which are in great disorder; they fire but seldom. We have now twenty-two guns in front, besides six at Willis's: the enemy's half galleys took a small merchantman laden with provisions: about three this afternoon came in a deserter: one gun disabled and another dismounted on the grand battery, where a gunner was killed.

Sunday the fourteenth.

The enemy last night ran a line of about two hundred and thirty gabions from the end of the advanced work of the six gun battery on the left, and in a line with their parallel, with a return of about sixty gabions, and lies within about two hundred yards of the prince's line: they fired this morning about twenty-nine guns: this morning we began to fortify Britain's battery, by lowering it a great deal in order to make a new parapet behind the ruined one, and with the rubbish that is taken from thence, we laid the foundation of another new parapet, behind the queen's battery, on the curtain, to serve when that shall be ruined; it extending the whole length of it. We have now mounted on the grand battery twelve guns and two howitzers, on the old mole eleven, and at Willis's six. One man killed on the grand battery, and one wounded in the lines.

Monday the fifteenth.

The enemy have done nothing last night that we can see; they fired pretty briskly in the cool of the morning; the rest of the day but seldom; nor have we received much damage. This day they fire from thirty-one guns. Our batteries are in tolerable order, having in all to the front thirty pieces of cannon and seven at Willis's. Their boats continue to bring fascines to the eastern shore. A brass gun burst at Willis's: a man wounded at Land port: a deserter came in: Jennings hanged for desertion.

Tuesday

Tuesday the sixteenth.

The enemy made no advances; the gabions of the last work stand yet uncovered. We keep a constant fire on them all night with our small arms: a deserter came in: this morning they fired briskly from twenty-six guns, the rest of the day but seldom: a man killed and one wounded at Land port.

Wednesday the seventeenth.

The enemy did nothing last night; the gabions still uncovered: they fired from twenty guns this morning, and but seldom all day: a deserter came in; and the York, who came from the fleet with letters: we have now mounted on the mole fourteen guns, on the grand battery ten, at Willis's six: a gun disabled and a man wounded on the grand battery: one at Land port, and two at Willis's.

Thursday the eighteenth.

The enemy have made no new works, nor done any thing to their approaches: they have dressed their batteries a little, and drawn off all their cannon to about thirteen, from which they fire: three deserters came in. We saw wheeled carriages all the day bringing gabions from the fascining place on the eastern shore to their trenches: a French ship lying near that place discovered that they have erected a battery there, which we did not know of before, of four pieces of cannon to cover their boats that bring fascines, &c. they fired two guns from thence, and a third from their horse-shoe battery at the ship.

Friday the nineteenth.

The enemy last night strengthened their zigzag by the bay, and brought four pieces of cannon at some distance from the mill battery. There is no appearance of any other work done, but we saw their wheel carriages employed as yesterday: their fire has been very moderate all this day, and with fewer cannon than yesterday: four deserters came in, who declare there is a general disposition in the whole army to desert, which is what the deserters

have always said. A man killed this morning by a shell in the prince's line, and one wounded at Land port. This morning the guard-house under the prince's line, where we formerly kept our advanced guard, was blown up by lord Portmore's orders.

Saturday the twentieth.

The four pieces of cannon mentioned above were brought into their battery last, they fired from nineteen guns, and their wheel carriages employed as before: four deserters came in: the old mole is in pretty good repair. We have now mounted there fourteen guns; on the north bastion and queen's battery twelve, and at Willis's six: two more are gone up to be mounted there this night.

Sunday the twenty-first.

The enemy have not advanced, but filled their gabions with sand; they have fired more this day than of late, having played twenty-one pieces of cannon: they brought two pieces into the fourteen gun battery: last night a thirteen inch shell fell into a little post at the foot of the rock at Willis's, where we had a serjeant, and ten men posted to fire on the mouth of the cave where the enemy's mine is. The serjeant and three men were killed, one blown away, and the rest wounded: a serjeant was hurt on the foot by a carriage running over it on the grand battery: a man wounded on the esplanade, three in the ditch at Land port, and two at Willis's: a small merchantman was chased into the bay by the enemy's half gallies; and had it not been for the Winchester that was cruising at the back of the hill, she must have been taken: a deserter came in.

Monday the twenty-second.

The enemy's fire has been pretty brisk this morning from eighteen guns, but moderate the rest of the day: six deserters came in, who all complain of their being greatly fatigued: a brass gun in the castle blown up, a man wounded at the prince's lines, and another at Willis's: the new works on the curtain go on very forward.

Tuesday

Tuesday the twenty-third.

The enemy to appearance have done nothing last night: this morning they fired from twenty guns: the trunnion of a twenty-four pounder broke by the enemy's shot: a twelve pounder disabled; an eighteen pounder had her muzzle broke, but is still serviceable: at the old mole an eighteen pounder was soon mounted in the room of the disabled twelve pounder. This afternoon some carcasses were fired from Willis's, one of which took place amongst a parcel of gabions at the tail of the zigzag, and set them on fire; the enemy attempted to extinguish it, which drew the fire of all our batteries upon them: a deserter came in at seven in the evening.

Wednesday the twenty-fourth.

The enemy made nothing new last night; they fired from twenty guns, and but seldom: two deserters came in, one of them a miner. We have suffered very little by their fire this day, having none killed or wounded: our garrison begins to be sickly, being affected with fluxes. The enemy threw many shells.

Thursday the twenty-fifth.

The enemy's works the same as yesterday, except that they cleared the front and merlons of the twelve gun battery from the brush of the fascines to prevent their taking fire: this morning they fired from sixteen guns: they have four mortars mounted in front, and as many in their bomb battery to the eastward: one of their gunners deserted to us, and a man of the guards deserted to them.

Friday the twenty-sixth.

The enemy did nothing last night: we mounted a twelve pounder on the mole, and three small guns were mounted on a little cavalier made in the court way at Land port, which were fired in the night, and drawn off in the morning: an eighteen pounder burst at Willis's. On the grand battery two men were killed and one wounded: the enemy fired from fourteen guns, though but little.

Saturday the twenty-seventh.

Nothing new made by the enemy: a man killed at the old mole: the Lyme and Thunder transports came in from Barbary with fascines and provisions: two deserters came in: the enemy fired from ten guns, but very moderate.

Sunday the twenty-eighth.

The enemy continued in the same situation as yesterday: they have about fourteen guns from whence they fire, but that very seldom: a man killed at the prince's line: a deserter came off. This being the anniversary of our most gracious sovereign's birthday, at five in the afternoon we fired three salvos of all the cannon and mortars that could bear upon the enemy, after which were thrown thirteen carcasses, with design to set the enemy's battery on fire, but had not the desired success.

Monday the twenty-ninth.

The enemy have done nothing last night; they just keep going on with the same number of guns as yesterday: our works go on with forwardness. This morning sailed the Dursley and York to the fleet, with several merchantmen under their convoy.

Tuesday the thirtieth.

Nothing new in the enemy's works or batteries, which last were very silent: a platform was this day laid on the new mole at Britain's battery, where two merlons are finished, and five more begun; and workmen are ordered to bring guns from the new mole, to put into them when finished: the work on the queen's battery is now raised equal to the parapet of the old one: a bombardier wounded at the grand battery: a serjeant killed in the lines: a bombardier and two men wounded at lord Forbes's battery in the lines: a deserter came in.

Wednesday the thirty-first.

The enemy are running a line behind their mill battery, which continues their communication between the first and second parallels; this they have lengthened about one hundred paces backwards:

wards: they fire seldom, and their near works lie as they did: the Royal Oak came in from the fleet, and left the admiral at anchor near the bay of Bulls. A packet-boat came in from Lisbon with three hundred and seventy-five barrels of powder for us. The enemy have a large appearance of fascines to the east: they have remounted in their park twenty pieces of cannon. We have brought two thirty-two pounders from the new mole to the esplanade, and our brass cannon that were blown are bushing.

Thursday June the first.

The enemy continue as they were: a deserter coming off, they fired and killed him. Last night a man of the guards had his head shot off by our own guns in the covert way at Land port: a serjeant wounded there, and a gunner and a soldier wounded at Willis's: they have fired very little all this day, in all not above eight or ten shot.

Friday the second.

Nothing extraordinary. The enemy threw some shells last night, and wounded one man and killed another in the prince's line: this whole day fired but two or three shot and threw few shells.

Saturday the third.

The enemy made no advances, nor worked to appearance, and fired but little, and threw shells. This day the Solebay came in from Port Mahon, and brought a supply of nine hundred and eighty barrels of powder, and five hundred thirteen inch shells: none killed or wounded by the enemy: some powder blown up in the quarters of brigadier Clayton's regiment, which wounded four men.

Sunday the fourth.

The enemy were heard to work last night at their batteries last made; no approaches: Britain's battery is now finished, and the platforms laid: the enemy fire very little: a deserter came in: last night about eleven a shell fell into one of the merlons of Bri-

tain's battery, and damaged it a little: a man of Clayton's wounded at Willis's.

Monday the fifth.

The enemy did nothing, and fired very little: one captain, one subaltern, three serjeants, three corporals, and forty men, embarked on board the Winchester, which, with the Solebay, failed to look for a convoy said to be coming from Barcelona with four thousand men and forty pieces of cannon, for a supply to the enemy. Captain Gilmore, of colonel Disney's regiment, died of sickness. A dragoon deserted to us.

Tuesday the sixth.

The enemy made no approaches last night, and fired but seldom: we mounted two thirty-two pounders on Britain's battery, and a brass eighteen pounder on the north bastion: this day Egerton's and Middleton's regiments came to town to quarters, and brigadier Clayton's went to camp: three deserters came in.

Wednesday the seventh.

We mounted three more guns on Britain's battery: nothing else extraordinary happened.

Thursday the eighth.

The sixth gun is now mounted on Britain's battery, which makes it complete: the work on the queen's battery goes on with forwardness: a soldier of Egerton's attempting to desert last night from the old mole was drowned: a deserter came in.

Friday the ninth.

The enemy made no advance, but wrought on something behind their old works: they fired neither shot or shell till four this morning, and then but few: came in a deserter.

Saturday the tenth.

The enemy made no advance, but continued to work as yesterday, and fired little: last night a man of Clayton's was killed by a shell as he lay asleep on the esplanade: a man of the guards wounded at the old mole: a corporal of the detachment deserted from

from the middle hill: four men wounded by a shell at the prince's line.

Sunday the eleventh.

The enemy made no approaches, but continued to work as before, and we suppose upon an intrenchment behind the furthest tower: they fired but little. Yesterday a shell fell into the carpenter's workhouse, and wounded a serjeant and four men; one whereof died this day.

Monday the twelfth.

This night, about ten, an Irish colonel came out of the nearest trenches to the head of the prince's line, and called to them to let them know he had letters for the earl of Portmore; upon which the officer commanding that post, ordered him to retire, or he would fire on him, telling him he would send and acquaint lord Portmore with it, which he did: some time after, the same person came out of the zigzag, beating a chamade, and was admitted into town, and delivered my lord letters from Mynheer Vandenneer, minister of the states of Holland at the court of Spain; and a copy of preliminary articles signed by the plenipotentiaries of the several powers of the different alliances, for a suspension of arms, which lord Portmore agreed to; whereupon all hostilities ceased on both sides: and the casualties that happened during the siege, with other things, are as follow:

TABLE

T A B L E I.

Casualties in the siege of February the eleventh, one thousand seven hundred and twenty-six-seven, to June the twelfth following.

Regiments.	Killed.	Wounded.	Died of Wounds.	Died of Sicknets.	Deserted.	Officers names killed and wounded.
Royal Artillery -	1 Capt. 8	16	2	1	—	Capt. Lieut. Holman.
Guards -	2	19	2	4	1	—
General Pearce's -	4	18	2	3	2	—
Lord Mark Kerr's -	7	22	3	4	3	—
Brigadier Clayton's -	7	13	5	9	—	—
Colonel Egerton's -	1 Lieut. 8	12	8	3	3	Lieutenant Newton.
Colonel Middleton's	3	14	—	2	3	—
Colonel Anstruther's	6	29	3	6	—	—
Colonel Disney's -	2	12	—	1 Capt. 2	2	Captain Gilmore.
General Bisset's -	8	15	1 Vol. 4	4	—	Mr. Kenwarick.
Colonel Hay's -	2	16	2	8	2	—
Brigadier Newton's -	6	1 Ensign 4	1 Lieut. 4	2	—	Lieut. Norris, En. Cadell.
Colonel Cosby's -	6	17	1	1	1	—
Total -	2 Off. 69	1 Off. 207	1 Officer 1 Vol. 36	1 Off. 49	17	—

On September the fourth, one thousand seven hundred and twenty-seven, about six in the evening, as the men of the artillery were at work, in driving of fuzes, one caught fire, which inflamed the composition, that communicated to the powder in the room, and blew up the laboratory, which killed three men.

T A B L E II.									
An account of the Spanish troops killed and wounded during the said siege.									
Majors.		Captains.		Subalterns.		Serjeants.		Private men.	
Killed.	Wounded.	Killed.	Wounded.	Killed.	Wounded.	Killed.	Wounded.	Killed.	Wounded.
—	1	7	9	8	32	18	11	667	773
Deferted.									
To town and Country.									
875									
In the hospitals.									
Died.									
327									
Remains sick									
—									
By another copy.									
—	1	7	9	8	33	15	14	333	1107
340									
773									

Particular officers wounded, but not mentioned in the above account:

February 22. Brigadier and marquis of Torres, major.

March 14. A lieut. provincial of the artillery, Marcos Pelira.

— 25. A sub brigadier of the engineers, Mr. Zacomba.

April 14. A lieut. provincial of the artillery, Augustin Braus.

May 18. A commissary of the artillery, monsieur Chapelar.

— Another commissary of ditto, Mr. Caravalleo.

— 27. A sub brigadier of the engineers, Mr. Samuel Martin, died of his wounds.

— 28. The duke of Wharton firing a gun, the carriage run over him.

We

We shall observe in this place, that the baron de Ripperda, who had concluded the Vienna treaty, on his return from thence, was created a duke; but his administration not being approved by the grandees, whose resentment he dreaded, he resigned his post of prime minister, and took refuge in the house of Mr. Stanhope, the British ambassadour at Madrid, from whence he was taken and imprisoned, but found means to escape. The emperor proceeded to prohibit all British merchandise to be imported into Sicily, or any other part of his dominions: and his ally the king of Spain insisting on a promise from the king of England for restoring Gibraltar, on his acceding to the quadruple alliance, laid siege to that fortress: whereupon the court of Great Britain commanded admiral Hosier to block up Porto Bello, with a squadron of men of war, and ordered another squadron to lie upon the coast of Old Spain, to prevent the galleons returning to Europe, which they were not however able to do, admiral Castinetta, with twenty sail, getting into Cadiz about this time; and as for those at Porto Bello, they thought fit to unload their treasure, and secure it on shore: in the mean time admiral Hosier died in that unhealthy climate, and his men were so sickly, that the fleet was forced to be remanded from Jamaica: the ships were worm eaten, and rendered unfit for service; and the British trade suffered greatly in that part of the world. A treaty of pacification between Great Britain, the emperor, and Spain, being set on foot in the year one thousand seven hundred and twenty-seven, it was agreed that the siege of Gibraltar should be raised, that the Ostend trade to India should be suspended, and that the British squadrons should return from Porto Bello, and the coasts of Old Spain. The preliminaries between Great Britain and Spain being settled, the siege of Gibraltar was raised; and the ministers of those powers resorted to Soissons in France, in order to conclude a definitive treaty by the mediation of France: this was in April one thousand seven hundred and twenty-eight, and in May vice admiral Hopson,

who commanded the squadron before Porto Bello (after Hofier) died there also on board his ship. The fleet lost their men twice over, and the ships were eaten through by the worm, and forced to be rebuilt at their return to England.

The congress at Soissons, consisting of the ambassadours of the emperor, Great Britain, Spain, the states-general, and France, met on the fourteenth of May. On the eighteenth of March his late majesty's letter to the king of Spain, expressing his readiness to restore Gibraltar, if the parliament would consent to it, was read in the house of Peers: whereupon it was moved to address his majesty, that, in the present treaty, the king of Spain might be obliged to renounce all claim and pretensions to Gibraltar, and the island of Minorca, in plain and strong terms; but the motion was then rejected: however, on the twenty-fifth of March, one thousand seven hundred and twenty-nine, both houses addressed his majesty, that he would take effectual care, in the present treaty, to preserve his undoubted right to Gibraltar and the island of Minorca: and on the third of April, the duke of Wharton residing in Spain, and reported to have been in the enemy's army before Gibraltar, was proclaimed a traitor: this unhappy man, who proved, as Mr. Pope expresses it,

“ A tyrant to the wife his heart approv'd,

“ A rebel to the very king he lov'd !”

After he quitted Rome, he went by sea to Barcelona, and then resolved upon a new scene of life, in which few expected he would ever have engaged: he wrote a letter to the king of Spain, acquainting him that he would assist at the siege of Gibraltar as a volunteer. The king thanked him for the honour, and accepted his service: but he soon grew weary of this, and set his heart on Rome; but by the advice of the chevalier de St. George, he set out for France, in his way to England, as it was imagined; but he changed his mind again (1).

(1) Univ. Mag. for May 1764, p. 271.

The queen of Spain broke off the congress of Cambray (2), and offered to adjust all her differences with the emperor, under the sole mediation of Great Britain: this gave disgust to the emperor, between whom and George the first there was now a great coldness. His imperial majesty even intimated to that monarch, that if he should accept the sole mediation, the consequences might be disagreeable to his electorate. But his Britannic majesty knew that the queen of Spain had made that offer only in a fit of passion, and, when that was gratified, that he could not for a moment depend upon her: add to this, that the same reason subsisted for his continuing in friendship with the duke of Bourbon, then regent, or first minister, of France, and next heir to that crown after the decease of the king and the young duke of Orleans, who was then unmarried, as he had in the time of the late regent. These and many other reasons prevailed with George the first to decline the sole mediation without France; upon which the emperor and Spain resolved to adjust all their differences without either of the mediators. The event of this resolution was soon seen in two treaties which were concluded at Vienna by the duke de Ripperda, the Spanish minister, who had managed the negociation. By the first treaty, which was signed the thirtieth of April, the quadruple alliance was confirmed, and Philip the fifth was acknowledged to be lawful king of Spain and the Indies, as secured to him by the treaty of Utrecht. Philip, on the other hand, gave up all pretensions to the dominions in Italy and the Netherlands, that had been adjudged to the emperor by the treaty of London, one thousand seven hundred and twenty-two. The emperor granted the eventual investiture of the dukedoms of Tuscany, Parma, and Placentia; and Spain agreed to guarantee the pragmatic sanction, which was always a favourite point with the emperor. Little umbrage was taken at this treaty, either by Great Britain or

(2) Mod. Univ. Hist. Vol. XLII. p. 389—397.

France;

France; but that of commerce was exceptionable to the last degree to all the other powers of Europe, Great Britain especially. By it, Spain agreed to grant advantages to the emperor's trading subjects in Spain, which no other nation enjoyed. In consideration of which, Spain was to guarantee the Ostend company trading to the East-Indies, and to pay an annual subsidy of four millions of pieces of eight to the emperor.

His Britannic majesty had reasons for believing that the two courts had secretly entered into engagements still more detrimental to his regal dominions. That of Spain continued to insist upon an absolute promise that had been made by George the first of giving back Gibraltar and Port Mahon to his catholic majesty; which promise the emperor engaged to insist on making good, if necessary, by force. It was even pretended, that by those secret articles the whole system of succession in Great Britain was to be unhinged; the two Austrian archduchesses (the eldest of whom is now the empress queen of Hungary) were to be married to the two infants of Spain; and king George even went so far as to tell his parliament, that they intended to raise the pretender to his throne. This last charge, however, was most solemnly denied by the imperial minister at London. To counteract those treaties, his Britannic majesty formed and completed that of Hanover, between himself, France, and Prussia; by which all his dominions were guaranteed in the protestant succession. The ambition of the queen of Spain was now looked upon as the firebrand of Europe; and she carried her intrigues at the court of France with such address and secrecy, that the duke of Bourbon was, without a moment's warning, dismissed from the administration of that kingdom, and confined to his country house, the king declaring, that he was resolved to take the government into his own hands.

The conduct of the court of Spain towards Great Britain gave too much reason to believe, that the emperor, its now favourite ally, was linked with it in all its dangerous designs. The remit-

tances from Madrid to Vienna amounted in six months to a million sterling, which enabled the emperor to make a vast augmentation of his troops; and her catholic majesty had found means to engage even the empress of Russia to assist the allies, in the treaty of Vienna, with thirty thousand men. At the same time, the court of Madrid was opened as an asylum for all the exiled Jacobites of Great Britain: and the duke of Wharton, who had thrown off his allegiance to his Britannic majesty, whom he had grossly insulted, and had entered into the pretender's service, received protection there. As the court of England seemed to be well apprised of all the Spanish engagements, that queen's suspicions fell upon Ripperda, who was a Dutchman, and had been a protestant. Her surmises were confirmed by the report of certain indiscreet expressions which he had let fall. Be that as it will, he was immediately dismissed from his employments, but with a pension of three thousand pistoles a year. As Ripperda was a vain weak man, and perhaps conscious to himself of having committed great indiscretions, he fled to the house of the Dutch ambassadour, who received him but coldly, and carried him to that of colonel Stanhope, afterwards earl of Harrington, the British ambassadour, who gave him protection, but he soon found his house surrounded by two hundred Spanish grenadiers. Colonel Stanhope complained to his catholic majesty of this indignity; and upon his engaging that the duke of Ripperda's person should be forth-coming, the grenadiers were drawn off; but part of them took post at the avenue leading to the colonel's house, from whence the duke was forcibly taken, and carried prisoner to the castle of Segovia. By this time, the Spanish ambassadour was ordered to leave London; and he left behind him a paper which fell little short of a declaration of war, and was taken notice of by his Britannic majesty in his speech to his parliament: and at the same time he acquainted them with the dangerous consequences of the treaty of Vienna, and that his catholic majesty not only demanded the restitution of

6

Gibraltar,

Gibraltar, but also was making great preparations seemingly for besieging that fortress, though, more probably, for invading Great Britain in favour of the pretender. His Britannic majesty, not to be wanting to himself, gave orders for the equipment of three squadrons, all of them intended to counteract her catholic majesty's ambitious practices. One sailed to the Baltic, under Sir Charles Wager, to keep the empress of Russia in awe; another to the Spanish West-Indies, under admiral Hosier, to intercept or block up the Spanish galleons; and the third to the Mediterranean, under Sir John Jennings. We have in a former part of this work given a detail of Hosier's unfortunate expedition. The squadron under Sir John Jennings had on board a body of land forces, which were to be put on shore at Gibraltar, in case of its being besieged; and he was to alarm all the coasts of the Mediterranean, and even to spread terror to Madrid itself.

The little firmness that then subsisted in the British councils, frustrated the intention of all those expensive preparations; and the expedition of Jennings, particularly, appeared rather like a visit of parade than an hostile invasion. He sailed from St. Helen's on the twentieth of July, entered the bay of St. Antonio, from whence he sailed to Lisbon, and from thence to the bay of Bulls, where he was most courteously entertained by the Spanish governor of Cadiz; and then he cruized off cape St. Mary, but without any attempt to commit hostilities. This tame behaviour was so far from daunting the Spaniards, that they had committed the outrage we have mentioned upon the British ambassador's house while the English squadron was lying upon their coasts. The affair of Gibraltar, after this, became to be of great consequence, especially as the Spaniards produced a paper under his Britannic majesty's hand, containing what they called a promise of its restitution. The English ministry did not venture to deny the authenticity of this paper; but when it appeared, it was found to be only conditional, provided the British parliament would give its consent,

consent, which its members absolutely refused. It was likewise alledged, that the Spaniards had violated every condition upon which that promise was made. In the mean while, the Spaniards, to shew that they were in earnest, had been extremely active in repairing and restoring their marine, and had formed a camp of about twenty thousand men at St. Roche. At first they gave out, that they intended to rebuild the old town of Gibraltar, i. e. Algezira, and to raise forts and batteries at the bottom of the bay, to prevent ships coming up to the town, and thereby render it useless to the English. These projects being found ineffectual, the marquis de las Torres, the Spanish general, actually formed the siege of Gibraltar itself, on the eleventh of February following. His army was well provided with all kinds of artillery and warlike stores, and the place was defended by colonel Clayton, lieutenant governor under the earl of Portmore. The British minister at Madrid, being certainly informed that the siege was begun, left Spain; but gave proper intimations to the British merchants in Spain, to secure their effects. All Europe was surpris'd at Spain embarking in so improbable an undertaking. The garrison was in an excellent condition of defence, and the sea being open, strong reinforcements were sent to it, which, with the earl of Portmore, arrived safe there in the beginning of April. All that the Spaniards could do, was to throw into the town a great number of bombs, which did little or no damage to the garrison; while, in the course of four months, for so long the siege lasted, the Spaniards lost half their army, which made them objects rather of ridicule than enmity to the English.

In fact, the powers at variance began to be sensible, that they were embroiled with one another merely on suspicions; but they saw, if their misunderstanding continued, all Europe must be involved in a general war, of which no person could predict the extent or event. France stood the best of any other power with the allies of the court of Vienna, and the duke of Richelieu, his most
Christian

Christian majesty's ambassadour at the imperial court, undertook a mediation, which, with the assistance of the British and Dutch ministers, he carried into a plan of accommodation, and which was to serve as the basis of an universal pacification, to be settled at a future congress. At first the emperor formed a counter-project; but, after various altercations, the ultimatum of the allies of Hanover was accepted of, and a treaty of pacification, which contained twelve preliminary articles, was signed at Paris the last day of May, one thousand seven hundred and twenty-seven, by all parties. By the first article, the Ostend company was suspended for seven years: by the second, the treaties of Utrecht, Baden, and quadruple alliance, were to remain in force, but subject to such alterations as might be agreed upon at a general congress: the third article settled the privileges of commerce, as they stood by treaties antecedent to the year one thousand seven hundred and twenty-five: the fourth article related to the pacification of the north. As the fifth article related to Spain solely, we shall give it at large: "All hostilities whatsoever, if any should happen, shall instantly cease after the signing of the present articles; and, with respect to Spain, eight days after his catholic majesty shall have received the articles signed, the ships which sailed from Ostend to the Indies before this convention, the names whereof shall be given in a list on the part of his imperial majesty, may return freely and safely from the Indies to Ostend; and, if any of these ships be detained or taken, they shall be restored, *bonâ fide*, with their cargoes. The galleons also shall be permitted to return to Spain unmolested, in firm confidence that his catholic majesty will, with regard to the effects on board the galleons and the flotilla, deal in the same manner as usual in all times of liberty. In consequence of this, the English squadron, commanded by admiral Hosier, shall depart as soon as possible from Porto Bello, and all other ports of America, belonging to the king of Spain; he shall even return with his squadron into

"Europe;

“ Europe, that the subjects of his catholic majesty in the Indies
 “ may be free from all further apprehensions and uneasiness. The
 “ commerce of the English in America shall be carried on as for-
 “ merly, according to the treaties : moreover, the English, French,
 “ and Dutch squadrons, which may appear upon the coasts of
 “ Spain, or on those of the states of his imperial majesty, at the
 “ time when this present cessation of hostilities commence, shall
 “ depart thence as soon as possible, that the inhabitants of those
 “ coasts may henceforth be rid of all disturbance and fear. Nei-
 “ ther shall those ships be permitted to undertake any thing di-
 “ rectly or indirectly against the said port.” The rest of the arti-
 cles having no immediate relation to Spain, and most of them
 never having been executed, we shall omit.

His catholic majesty was happy in getting rid of his ruinous
 siege of Gibraltar by this pacification, and he gave immediate or-
 ders for a cessation of hostilities. The fertile and vindictive brain
 of his queen, however, started new difficulties before the articles
 were ratified in form. Objections were made to the actual raising
 the siege of Gibraltar, and to the restitution of the prince Freder-
 ric, the English South sea ship, which had been taken by the Spa-
 niards at Vera Cruz, before the commencement of hostilities.
 The unreasonable obstinacy of the Spaniards on this head, occa-
 sioned hostilities to continue between the Spaniards and Sir Charles
 Wager, who was then cruising on the coast of Spain. To his
 great surprise, while he was on this station, thirteen French men
 of war anchored before Cadiz, without his knowing that they had
 sailed from Brest or Toulon. As he had no intimation of their
 instructions or destination, he immediately forbade all communi-
 cation with their fleet ; nor was it till after the death of George
 the first that the French ministry ratified the preliminary articles
 at Madrid on the sixth of March, one thousand seven hundred
 and twenty-eight. It was thought, that her catholic majesty never
 could have been brought to agree to this ratification, had she not
 been

been persuaded by Vandermeer, the Dutch minister, that it was the only method by which she could succeed in her family projects for the provision of her sons. But even this ratification was but a hasty and temporary expedient, as the most important articles in dispute between the two crowns remained to be settled at the approaching congress, which at first was agreed to be held at Aix-la-Chapelle; but the vanity of the French court, which had taken the lead in the whole of the negociation, had prevailed that it should be held at Soissons.

It was opened the nineteenth of June, one thousand seven hundred and twenty-eight, and the Spanish plenipotentiaries in it, were the duke de Bournonville, the marquis de Santa Cruz, and don Ignatio de Barnachea. However fluctuating the conduct of the court of Spain may have appeared at this time, yet it is certain that the queen, who had the whole management of affairs, and by her fertility had endeared herself to her husband, was true and steady to one principle, that of her family establishment in Italy. This favourite view was encouraged by the dispositions of the British ministry, who seemed to be extremely averse to a war, and by no means enemies to her catholic majesty's views. The Spaniards, at the same time, were perfectly sensible, that the emperor never could heartily concur in her catholic majesty's family establishment in Italy: that he was unable to support the Ostend company against the English and Dutch; and that the immense subsidy of a million sterling, which he continued to receive, was expended without their obtaining for it any suitable equivalent. Those considerations privately determined her catholic majesty to do nothing effectually at the congress of Soissons; in the mean while, vast preparations for war were making all over Spain; the restitution of Gibraltar and Port Mahon was again revived, and new claims were started of searching and confiscating British ships in America, where the most shocking depredations were committed by the Spaniards under that pretext. All those

high claims, however, were only intended by her catholic majesty as so many inducements to Great Britain to come into her schemes.

The old Spaniards as passionately desired the re-annexing of Gibraltar and Port Mahon to their monarchy, as their queen did her family establishment in Italy; but they were soon convinced, that the former was a consideration only subservient to the latter. In the mean while, the prince of Asturias, the eldest son of the king of Spain, by his first marriage, married the infanta of Portugal, as the prince of Brazil, the present king of Portugal, did the infanta of Spain. The situation of the people of England was not much different from that of Spain. They were zealous for the establishment of their undoubted rights of navigation in America, against the depredations of Spain; but they had soon reason to believe, that those were only secondary to the ministry's love of peace, and their attachment to German considerations. With some difficulty the two courts at last began to understand one another. Colonel Stanhope, who was personally agreeable to her catholic majesty, was nominated ambassadour extraordinary to the court of Madrid, and Mr. Keene, the British plenipotentiary there, was joined with him in negotiating a new treaty, which was afterwards known by that of Seville; the Spanish plenipotentiaries being the marquis de la Paz and don Joseph Patinho. By this treaty, all former conventions between the two powers were confirmed. The two contracting powers were to guarantee each other's dominions; and in case of either being attacked, the other was to furnish the attacked party with eight thousand foot and four thousand horse, or an equivalent in ships and money. All engagements incurred by the treaty of Vienna were rendered void. The commerce in Europe and America was to be restored to its former footing, and proper orders to be dispatched for that purpose. All damages done by his catholic majesty's subjects to those of Great Britain were to be made good, and those damages were to be liquidated by commissaries, who were to settle the meaning

meaning of antecedent treaties, which were to determine the legality or illegality of the captures, as well as every thing relating to the restitution of the ships taken by the English in one thousand seven hundred and eighteen. The two kings were to carry the decisions of those commissaries into execution within six months after making their report. By the ninth article of this treaty, which was of the utmost consequence to her catholic majesty's views, the Spanish troops were instantly to garrison Leghorn, Porto Ferraro, Parma, and Placentia, for preserving the immediate succession of don Carlos, her majesty's eldest son, to those estates. The next article regards the peaceable introduction and continuance of those troops in the places of their destination: and the twelfth article guarantees don Carlos in the quiet possession of the states of Tuscany, Parma, and Placentia, after he has succeeded thereunto. The French king was a party in this treaty; and the states-general, by the fourteenth article of it, were to be invited to accede to it, which they afterwards did, upon the king of Spain promising to join with them and the court of Great Britain for obtaining the entire abolition of the Ostend company.

The emperor loudly complained of the treaty of Seville, as derogatory to his honour and interest, and contradictory to the quadruple alliance; according to which, neutral troops were to be introduced into Tuscany, Parma, and Placentia; and could he have procured money, which he endeavoured to do in England, he would have declared war. At first her catholic majesty was for carrying the stipulations of the treaty of Seville into immediate execution; but so many difficulties arose about the American commerce, that it was put off, and the Spaniards, to intimidate the British nation, again threatened to besiege Gibraltar, and refused to deliver out the effects of the flotilla, which, by the indulgence of the British fleet, had been carried into Cadiz. The Spanish ministry even went so far as to publish a kind of a defeazance of their obligations by the treaty of Seville, on pretext that the other

contracting parties had not fulfilled their part. While those matters were in agitation, the duke of Parma died, in one thousand seven hundred and thirty; upon which the imperialists not only took possession of his capital and dominions, but also prevailed with his dowager to pretend that she was with child. This exasperated the court of Spain, and the more so, because they understood that the English were then in a treaty with the emperor, and had offered to guarantee the pragmatic sanction, which treaty was actually signed on the sixteenth of March, one thousand seven hundred and thirty, and was called the second treaty of Vienna. By its third article, his imperial majesty consents to the introduction of the Spanish troops into the duchies of Tuscany, Parma, and Placentia, and binds himself to use his utmost endeavours to obtain the consent of the empire for that purpose. For six months the younger duchess dowager of Parma kept all Europe in suspense with regard to her pregnancy; which, at last, she declared to be counterfeit: and Spain and the great duke of Tuscany having acceded to the last treaty of Vienna, Sir Charles Wager sailed from Portsmouth with a large fleet, and landed, on the first of August, at Cadiz, to receive on board don Carlos, that he might take possession of his duchies of Parma and Placentia. The imperial general, at the same time, retired from those duchies; but Sir Charles, after he had been amused for some time at Seville, sailed to Leghorn, without having the honour to receive on board his fleet the infant, who went by land through Languedoc and Provence, and embarked at Antibes for Italy.

C H A P. VI.

A DESCRIPTION OF GIBRALTAR AND ROCK; OF THE COMMANDERS OF THAT FORTRESS.

I SHALL now endeavour to describe this remarkable hill, town, caves, isthmus, buildings, and works raised for its defence, &c.

Gibraltar derived its dual name from the hill, and the Moorish general, Gebel, or Jibel-Tharek, i. e. the mountain of Tharek, and its most ancient name that of Calpe, as I have already observed. The Moors were the first people who raised a fort, and afterwards erected a town, the present Gibraltar, situated at the foot on the west side of the great rock. We must not look back for any city having ever been at the base, or on any part of Calpe, before seven hundred and eleven, or seven hundred and thirteen: for ancient authors have confounded several together, as Tartessus, Calpe Heraclea Carteia, and Calpe Carteia, and some others: and to these authors I will add Lucan (1) from Claudian, who says of Calpe, "That it is a hill in the furthest part of Spain, by the Straits, over against Abyla on the Barbary side;" which two hills are called Hercules's pillars; and, that under this hill once stood an ancient city called Tartessus; whence the representation of Tartessia Tigris: that Abyla and Calpe were thought to have been joined at first, but parted by Hercules, and so let in the sea, through the Straits, called therefore the Mediterranean. And (continuing from Mela and Pliny) here it is said, that Hercules set up his pillars, as if there had been no going westward any farther. It is needless to expatiate; I must refer to the beginning of this book.

No town was ever on the rock of Gibraltar, till the Moors erected one. The hill has undergone some changes; it was once

(1) Lib. iv.

covered with trees; there are but few now left upon it, those in gardens excepted, being planted by the inhabitants since one thousand seven hundred and four. Oral tradition erroneously says, they occasioned a sickness in the garrison, and were therefore cut down: when this place was in the possession of Spain, its healthiness from the air, and pureness of its water, attracted the infirm and unhealthy from the country for the recovery and re-establishment of their health. Trees then grew upon the hill, as in many rocky countries. Many trees and vines flourished upon the mountain, when the Spaniards attempted to surprise the garrison over the middle hill; and many continued till the year one thousand seven hundred and twenty-seven; when the regiments, who were encamped to the southward, had leave to cut some for their firing, which they took in its full latitude, and levelled almost the whole. The neighbouring hills of Spain, at the back of Algezira, and many of the rocky mountains of that country are clothed with woods of large cork trees and other species of oak, &c.

When the Phoenicians built Carteia, and the Carthaginians and Romans enjoyed that station, the rock of Gibraltar was covered with trees, having some bare rocks, through which you could see, and this from its margin upwards, so that the reader may conceive the appearance of the mountain in those ancient days. Carteia was the only port in Gibraltar bay; the materials of that ancient destroyed city, furnished the Moors to build Jebel Tharek and Algezira, both in its neighbourhood. The Moors cleared accordingly, and first raised their fort; a very strong fortress for those times, (before the use of powder) and therefore not commanded by the hill which still raises its towering head, above the upper castle; for this castle or fort was divided into three, as I shall explain in its proper place.

The city of Gibraltar, when in the hands of the Spaniards, consisted of twelve hundred houses, one parish church, three monasteries of friars, one of nuns, two hospitals, and several chapels.

chapels. In one thousand seven hundred and fifty-five, there were no more than four hundred houses in the town, properly speaking; besides quarters for officers and barracks for officers and soldiers.

In the church of one of the convents, divine worship according to the use of the church of England, is constantly performed. The clergy who officiate are of the regiments, their number uncertain; but during my stay in that garrison from May one thousand seven hundred and forty-nine to May one thousand seven hundred and fifty-five, there were three; two of the church of England, and one of that of Scotland: the Scotch fuzileers being one of the four battalions, that, with the company of artillery of the late and much lamented colonel Leith, who died of a fever contracted by his too great assiduity in carrying on the batteries before the Moro opposite the Havannah, composed that garrison. The convent of this church is the residence of his excellency the governour, and fitted up accordingly.

The convent in that part of Gibraltar called Irish Town, was of the white friars, and is converted into a navy store-house: in it are apartments for the admiral or commodore of the Mediterranean squadron.

All other religious fabricks are converted into barracks and quarters, except the Spanish parish church; which, complying with the fifth article of capitulation, the prince of Hesse being a Roman catholic, and renewed by the treaty of Utrecht, has worship performed therein according to the superstitious rites of the church of Rome: the fathers are of Spain.

Generally speaking, but one priest resides at a time; sometimes he has a visiting brother. They live very well, and will drink freely, and enjoy the fair sex; and one, for his too libidinous life, was recalled into Spain in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-two.

The few remains of the Spaniards are greatly addicted to gross idolatry and rank superstition, as are also the Catalans who came here

here with the prince of Hesse ; and the Genoese and the few Irish, not belonging to the British government, were not a jot behind their friends of that persuasion.

They pay contributions for the delivery of souls from purgatory. They keep the carnival, a season of mirth and jollity ; masquerading from the north to the south port, through the several streets, and dancing at each other's houses.

The old Spaniards, feed after the manner of their country, generally speaking ; but in garb, dress between the English and their native country. The Catalans are more observant of the Catalonian habits.

The Spaniards marry very young ; at thirteen or fourteen they will bear children.

All the Roman catholics are buried in the Spanish church ; they put them in a deep pit, throwing a quantity of lime upon the corps, to consume the body the sooner. The church, were it kept in proper repair and good order, would make a very good appearance ; it is in the Gothic stile, raised on a Moorish structure, which is obvious at the north entrance, where is a colonnade, with columns supporting a terras, all which is Moorish. When the Spaniards took, and possessed themselves of any of the Moorish towns in Spain, they always converted their great mosques into churches : so when Alonzo the eleventh took Algezira, the mosque was converted, as their historian Mariana testifies ; and though the Goths were in Spain before the Moors, yet no Algezira was built in their days till the year seven hundred and thirteen ; and yet the parish church is Gothic.

The church at Gibraltar would be light enough, did they not exclude the sun, by blinding their windows : however, to supply the place of this luminary, many lamps were burnt before the shrines, on days of dedication and festivity. A great many amulets hang against the pillars and walls ; silver legs, arms, pieces of cables, shirts, and such rubbish and trumpery, as offerings to saints.



This mountain is in thirty-six degrees eight minutes north latitude, on a peninsula in the province of Andalusia, and the extremity which forms the Straits from the Mediterranean, erroneously called Europa point, as that of Cabrita is two miles more to the southward, and that of Tarifa five: we must only say, that Europa point is so called in respect to Gibraltar hill.

The utmost extent of this hill, from north to south, is two miles and three quarters, and the peninsula is joined to the continent of Europe by a sandy isthmus, which forms the bay of Gibraltar on the east, as the Spanish coast from Cabrita point to their lines, which run across the isthmus, does that on the west, north, and north east. The hill is divided from north to south by a ridge of rocks, which separates it in two unequal parts; for the side next the Mediterranean is narrower and much steeper than that next the bay, on which stands the town and fortifications.

I shall now give the distances and bearings from one part to another, as taken by an officer, and are as follow:

	Yards
Length of the peninsula from Forbes's battery to the flag staff at Europa - - - - -	4700
Breadth from the new mole to the sea at the back of the rock	1600
Distance from Forbes's to the Spanish lines - - - - -	1650
The fort west of the lines - - - - -	1800
The head of the causeway to the demolished tower - - - - -	570
Round tower - - - - -	870
The Spanish battery intended to demolish the old mole to the said work - - - - -	900
The mortar battery near the Levant shore to queen's battery at Willis's - - - - -	535
The nearest battery of the Spaniards to the grand battery	700
The head of the Spanish approaches to the head of the foundation - - - - -	150
The serjeant's guard bay-side to the first garden - - - - -	140
VOL. II.	Qq Breadth

	Yards
Breadth of the isthmus near the Spanish lines - - -	1750
At the Spanish advanced huts - - -	1200
Near Gibraltar hill - - -	950
The old mole head to Europa flag staff is - - -	} S. 05° 57' W. distance 4649
The new mole head to Europa flag staff - - -	
	} S. 09 31 E. - - - 2231
The old mole head to new mole head	S. 19 23 W. - 2561

Distances of places cross the bay, &c.

Cabrita batteries and flag staff - - -	} Old mole head S. 57° 00' W. - 10949	
		} Europa flag staff S. 81 15 W. - - 8802
Tower on Cabrita point - - -	} Old mole head	} S. 81 53 W. - - 8785
Tower S. of Old Gibraltar, and N. of sandy bay	} Old mole head S. 75 36 W. - - 9246	
		} Europa flag staff N. 74 39 W. - - 8785
Middle of the island of Algezira - - -	} Old mole head S. 87 14 W. - - 8275	
		} Europa flag staff N. 61 30 W. - - 8854
The tower in the country - - -	} Old mole head N. 72 53 W. - - 10531	
		} Europa flag staff N. 51 05 W. - - 12284
		Old mole head N. 70 26 W. - - 8924
		Europa flag staff N. 46 09 W. - - 10989

Distances of several objects round the head of the bay from the old mole.

Guard house under the hill and beacon on the hill in one - - -	} N. 1° 30' W. 3262	
East door of the long barracks - - -		N. 2 03 W. 5304
Barbet battery - - -		N. 15 26 W. 3779
St. Roche church - - -		N. 1 56 W. 8209
		Tower

		Yards
Tower by the river	N. 32° 54' W.	6823
Second tower north of Gibraltar	N. 46 57 W.	8282
Beacon on the hill	N. 14 50 E.	6523
Look-out house on Gibraltar hill	S. 34 17 E.	1993

Distances from the queen's battery at Willis's.

Center of the first garden	73 05	493
Center of the second garden	77 45	691
First hut from the bay	81 50	1045
Second ditto from ditto	81 30	1004
Third ditto from ditto	81 55	839
Eastern hut	83 20	1283
Guard-house at the back of the eastern hut	84 20	1512
Ditto at the back of the first hut	85 10	1774
Round tower by the first hut	83 00	1222
Guard-house to the right of the tower from Willis's	83 15	1267
Bay battery	85 55	2104
Horse barrack north of bay battery	86 15	2288
Artillery park	87 50	3967
Guard-house by the center barrier of the lines	85 20	1837
Eastern battery	85 20	1837
West face of the queen's battery to	Angle of the detached covered way under Willis's	58 30 245
	Center of the causeway leading cross the inundation	66 50 350
	North bastion	76 40 633
	Head of the old mole	80 40 913
	Algezira's	89 10 10313

Horizontal distance from the queen's battery at Willis's to the under-mentioned places.

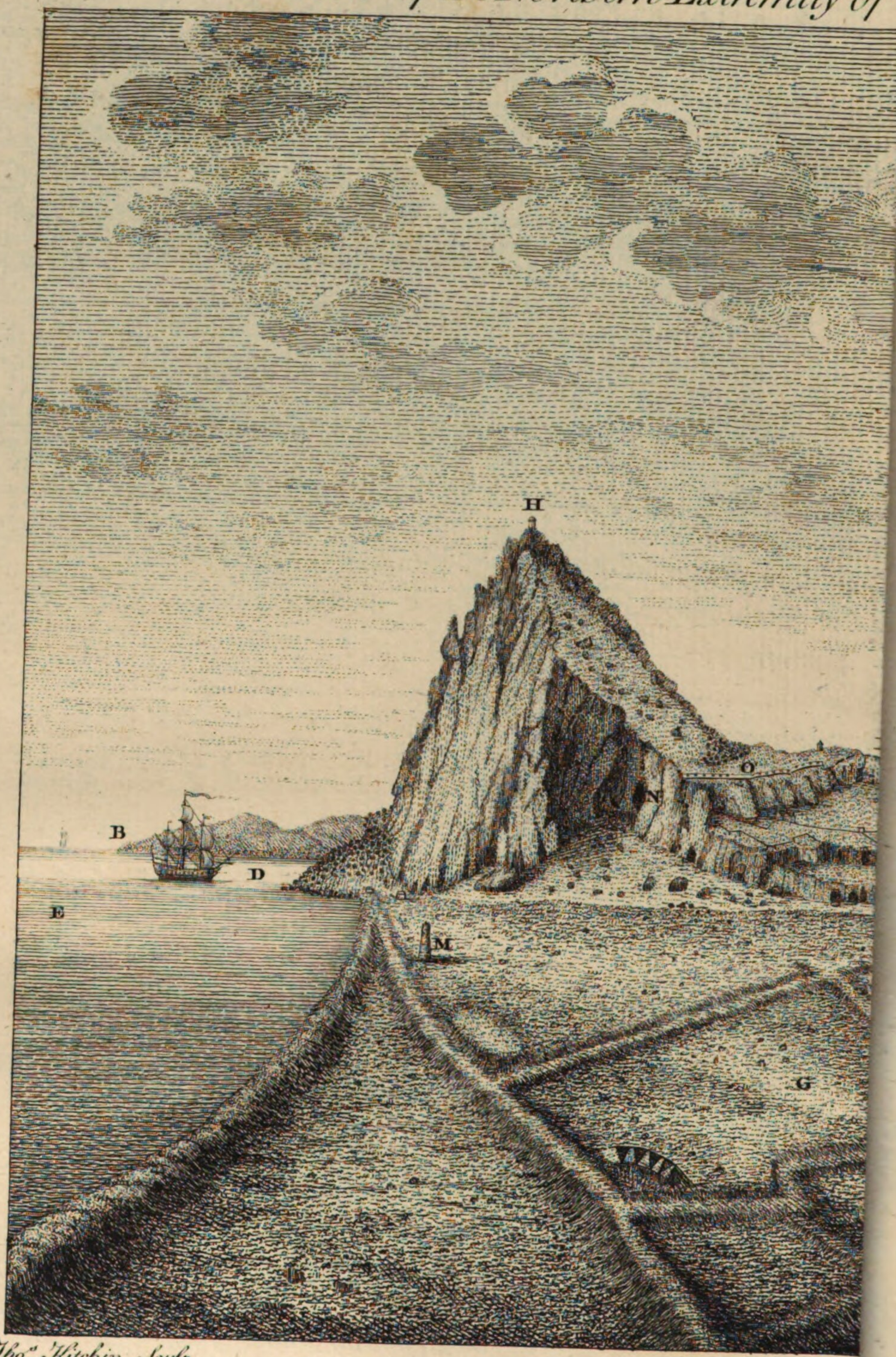
	Degree of the quadrant	Yards
Center of the first garden - - -	73° 05'	493
Center of the second garden - - -	77 45	691
Micolet hut, nearest the bay side - - -	81 50	1045
Second hut from the bay - - -	81 30	1004
Third hut from the bay - - -	81 55	1056
Fourth, or eastern hut - - -	83 20	1283
Guard-house to the right of the Round tower from Willis's - - -	83 15	1267
Round tower by the bay side - - -	83 00	1222
Advanced guard-house by the bay side - - -	85 10	1774
Eastern advanced guard-house - - -	84 20	1512
Bay battery - - -	85 55	2101
Salient S. eastern fort - - -	85 20	1837
Guard-house by the barrier, at the center of the lines - - -	85 20	1837
Horse barracks, north of the bay battery - - -	86 15	2288
Artillery park - - -	87 50	3967

Distances from the south face of the queen's battery at Willis's.

Old mole head - - -	80 40	913
Center of the causeway, leading cross the inundation - - -	66 50	350
Algezira's - - -	89 10	10313
North bastion - - -	76 40	633
From the fourth bastion to the new mole head - - -	- -	1000
From the eight gun battery to ditto - - -	- -	680
From the prince of Wales's battery to ditto - - -	- -	520
From Cumberland battery to ditto - - -	- -	420
From prince Edward's battery to ditto - - -	- -	300
		From



A VIEW of the Northern Extremity of



Tho. Hitchen Sculp.

- | | |
|--|--------------------------------------|
| A. <i>Albyla.</i> | F. <i>Bay of Gibraltar.</i> |
| B. <i>Ceuta Point.</i> | G. <i>Spanish Isthmus and remote</i> |
| C. <i>Distant Hills in Mauritania.</i> | <i>of the Approaches in 1727.</i> |
| D. <i>Straits of Gibraltar.</i> | H. <i>Rock Guard.</i> |
| E. <i>Mediterranean Sea.</i> | I. <i>Willis's Battery; below,</i> |

	Yards
From the Spanish battery intended to demolish the old mole, to the said work - - - - -	900
From the nearest battery of the Spaniards to the grand battery - - - - -	700
From the head of the approaches to the head of the present causeway - - - - -	150
Extent of the Spanish lines from fort to fort - - -	1750
At the huts - - - - -	1200
Near the hill - - - - -	950
From the old mole to the Spanish bay battery - -	1800
From the grand battery to the further end of the inundation - - - - -	530
Length of the peninsula - - - - -	4700
From Forbes's guard to the nearest angle of the Spanish lines - - - - -	1600
From the head of the king's lines to Forbes's guard	300
From the old mole head to the new mole head -	2500
Perpendicular height of the new mortar battery, above Willis's - - - - -	193
P. H. queen's battery, at Willis's - - - - -	150
Prince's lines - - - - -	46
King's lines - - - - -	25 1 foot.
Queen's battery - - - - -	30
Queen Charlotte's battery - - - - -	108 2 feet.

On the north and north east parts of the hill, and above the prince's line, situated on a rock fronting the neck of land, or narrow sandy isthmus, is the queen's battery, formerly called Willis's, for nine guns in Barbet, with traverses between each, and two embrasures flanking the foot of the rock by the Devil's tower, with three more which fire on the glacis of the place. The next battery is princess Anne's for five cannon for the isthmus, and

four which command the rear of the enemies approaches: that which follows is princess Amelia's with five embrasures, that command in front, and three cannon in Barbet, which fire in flank as those above: the next in order is princess Carolina's; it has three embrasures which command in front. All these batteries and communications were built since the last siege of one thousand seven hundred and twenty-seven, and the work finished in one thousand seven hundred and thirty-two, and are in general called Willis's battery. A new battery of mortars is also erected above the queen's battery. The road from the town to all these batteries is extremely good, and was also made since the last siege, with two magazines, as also a carriage shed raised on the upper return of the road, which will prevent the sending down to town, for the service of the above batteries. The prince's line is situated under those already mentioned, and the retaining part of its glacis almost an inaccessible rock: this line has been cut out of the solid rock, which was begun in one thousand seven hundred and twenty, and the breadth of this line was in the last siege found to be very incommodious and dangerous, which induced the engineer to widen it, and to build some casemates, as likewise to repair the parapet, which was done in one thousand seven hundred and thirty, one thousand seven hundred and thirty-one, one thousand seven hundred and thirty-two, and is well executed, as are all those batteries upon the rock, just mentioned, and in common called Willis's battery. In one thousand seven hundred and forty-nine a large casemate also bomb-proof, and a small one for officers was finished, and the rock blown ready to raise another bomb-proof. The extreme end of these lines next the isthmus, is mounted with four guns, and two more in a casemate which fires in reverse (as those of Willis's, &c.) on the glacis of the place, with two more embrasures, which fire in the same reverse, but not casemated, and therefore cannot be dismounted by the enemies shot from their batteries, should they be vain of success in hopes of ever taking

taking this impregnable fortress: under this line is partly situated that of the king's, its length being about half that of the prince's lines, but owes most of its advantage to the natural situation, which is improved by a cut in the rock in the same manner as that of the prince's. There are six pieces of cannon mounted in this line, and two mortars, with the advantage of a natural cave that is capable of securing one hundred men from shot or shells, with a small one for stores, and a covered communication, which you ascend through a chasm of the rock, by a broad wooden ladder of twenty-six steps to the prince's line, and forty-four stone ones. This work was finished in one thousand seven hundred and sixteen, but has been repaired in the parapet and glacis in one thousand seven hundred and thirty-two, and one thousand seven hundred and fifty. The next which presents itself to our consideration is the north front, consisting of an irregular demi (or half) bastion and curtain, with the north bastion, anciently a square Moorish tower: it retains still the same form, except the parapet in front, which is made of tapia, with four embrasures mounted in the face towards the enemy, three towards the sea, three in the flank next the ditch, and three on the flank next Water port. The curtain has sixteen embrasures all mounted with a tapia parapet of twenty-two feet thick: the demi-bastion (called the prince of Hesse's battery) has the parapet made in the same manner as the curtain, with two embrasures mounted on the face, two in the flank, and three in this rising part of the curtain; but, by reason of a great rock that projects in the inward line of the curtain, the parapet is not so wide: the rampart and parapet is higher than the lower part of this curtain, which you ascend by eight steps. This whole work was rebuilt in one thousand seven hundred and thirty, by lowering part of the battery eight feet, and raising a new parapet of tapia, with stone platforms and a new communication by eighty-four steps to a casemate in the king's line: in front of the north bastion, curtain, prince of Hesse's battery,

battery, and under part of the king's line is a covert way, the glacis of which is high enough to prevent the scarp wall from being seen below the cordon: under the glacis are galleries for mines with many chambers ready for service. There is a bridge of masonry across the ditch, with a draw-bridge at the entrance of the scarp wall, built in one thousand seven hundred and thirty-three; at the end of this bridge is a cover port, which is continued up the slope of the rock, and joined to the king's line; it is parallel to the communication from the prince of Hesse's battery, with a talouse for musketry that fires on the glacis: between these two lines the ditch is continued up the slope hewn out of the rock, and made smooth, which, with the slope, renders the footing almost impracticable. The ditch is well flanked, and this ends up the rock, against the foot of the king's lines. The foot of the glacis in front of the north bastion, and part of the curtain, is washed by the water of the bay, as that next the spur is by the inundation, which was formerly a marsh; but in one thousand seven hundred and thirty-one, one thousand seven hundred and thirty-two, and one thousand seven hundred and thirty-four, it was dugged two feet deeper than low water mark of the bay, and many deep pits in quincunx form, and has two sluice gates at the foot of the glacis: on each side of the inundation there are two advance guards, commanded by serjeants, and likewise one at the Devil's tower, and a fourth on the back of the gardens near the three advance guards of the Spaniards: these guards are all on the isthmus, with several sandy hillocks interspersed on the surface, being the traces of the Spanish batteries of the last siege. There were, in my time, two gardens of great benefit to the garrison: within side of this Land port gate to Water port, is a piece of ground termed the esplanade, with a large store-house, and an inclosed yard for shot and shells: this store-house was built by the Moors for their galleries, now possessed by the ordnance: on this esplanade are some few houses belonging to the inhabitants. In the

the time of the Spaniards, this spot of ground was laid out into streets, but the houses being in ruins from the bombs thrown by the enemy in one thousand seven hundred and twenty-seven, it was thought more advisable to clear the rubbish away, which was done in one thousand seven hundred and thirty-one, to widen that part of the old mole called the bomb battery. There is an old strong wall which comes down from the middle castle, reaching as far as the entrance into the old mole, part of which was taken down some time after the last siege, but the lower part within the rampart is still standing, which was part of the lower fort: this wall was given to the navy to build against. On this esplanade is a water port, which communicates to the old mole and quay: there is a draw-bridge over a wet ditch, with a guard room on one side, and the pratic house on the other: it was originally a strand, and very inconvenient for landing stores, &c. and in the siege of one thousand seven hundred and twenty-seven, a temporary fascine battery was erected thereon, to ease and draw off some fire from the enemy upon the mole. A quay was built in one thousand seven hundred and twenty-four, which expence was defrayed by a general subscription of the inhabitants: but the sea constantly beating against it, and the parts not being closely secured, it was once more laid open, but again repaired in one thousand seven hundred and fifty, with a landing by stone stairs, and the charge defrayed by a duty of one dollar on every butt of wine imported into the garrison. There is a small covert way pallisadoed, and a glacis to defend the quay fronting the guard and pratic house, close to which is another barrier of pallisadoes, that inclose this part from the old mole, as does likewise another barrier, as in the plan. Some of the pallisadoes were repaired in one thousand seven hundred and fifty and one thousand seven hundred and fifty-one. Without the above batteries is the old mole, built by the Spaniards and proved a galling battery in the siege of one thousand seven hundred and twenty-seven, which made them employ their

cannon vigorously against it, and ruined most part of the parapet, which was rebuilt in one thousand seven hundred and twenty-eight and one thousand seven hundred and twenty-nine (in redans), in order that the cannon placed in the embrasures should bear nearer towards the inundation. Eighteen embrasures are on this mole, and fourteen platforms for mortars: a back wall is to this mole, from the beginning of which, and under the duke of Montague's battery on the line wall, extending to the prince of Orange's, is a covert way pallisadoed, and a glacis made to defend the landing place, which is two hundred feet in length, where small barks are often hauled ashore. Within this covert way, and through the scarp wall of the town, is a postern or small gate, that leads into a spacious yard, the navy cooperage, well pallisadoed in front, and double barriered. This covert way was new pallisadoed with banquets, and a sortie made in one thousand seven hundred and forty-nine, and is very well flanked.

To the north east of the upper tower, in the upper Moorish castle or fort, are two pieces of cannon in barbet, by which the enemy were greatly galled during the last siege, and which they could not dismount. There are three thirteen inch mortars within this fort; two subalterns of different regiments commanding thirty-five men each, with eighteen gunners, are quartered in this old castle: a serjeant's guard is mounted at the entrance next the town. The town sea line wall from the Water port (or duke of Montague's battery) to the south bastion is very irregular with seventy-five embrasures: this wall was repairing from one thousand seven hundred and thirty to one thousand seven hundred and thirty-eight, following the old plan to save the expence of walling, which makes its figure resemble that which it anciently had: however, the improvement in walling is vastly advantageous, as it is entirely new in many places from the sea to the top of the parapet, leaving the Moorish wall as it stood, but covered. There is a natural defence before this town, which are rocks between

tween high and low water mark, extending themselves far into the bay, and running the whole length of the town, from Montague's battery to the south bastion. In the middle of the town, and on the grand parade, is the fountain built in one thousand six hundred and ninety-four, which supplies the city with water. The south bastion has irregular faces, that next the sea being three hundred feet in length, and that next the red sands two hundred and sixty: this bastion is raised higher than the line wall, to cover the town from the sand hills immediately before it; and within musket shot, on the south face are four embrasures, the flank has a breast work, and a retired flank with two embrasures to scour the ditch. The South port gate is in the curtain, after the ancient manner, with loop-holes for wall pieces to defend, between the outward and inward gate, over which are the arms of the empire, and those of Spain, with two wreathed pillars, and the inscription *PLVS VLTRA*. Near the center of this curtain is constructed a large flat bastion, to augment the defence, and to cover the curtain from the high ground opposite to it: this work is raised on the declivity of the hill, which obliged Speckel the engineer to build traverses of masonry across this bastion, serving for flanks: the flank next the south bastion has an epaulement, and a retired flank with two embrasures, and three more on the face. The communication to this bastion is through the curtain which ascends on the side of the hill, and is then covered by a demi-bastion, whose salient angle joins to a precipice, and answers the upper flank of the flat bastion, as the lower flank of the same bastion does to the flank of the south bastion. On the top of the above precipice is a Moorish wall, continued to the summit of the mountain; in front of this wall is another, built by Speckel, which is likewise continued in the same manner as the former: these walls terminate upon precipices, and the slopes of the hill in front of these walls are so rocky, and difficult to advance to an attack, as renders them formidable. The ditch at South port was never

finished, but is very wide, and the scarp so very high, as to render an escalade impracticable; the ditch is at present a garden; the bridge is of solid masonry described from two different centers; the covert way before, and the glacis, was a burial ground: across this ditch runs the aqueduct, which is continued to the parade. The ragged staff is a wharf built by the contractor of the Victualling office in one thousand seven hundred and thirty-six, to land provisions near the magazine: this wharf is carried into the bay three hundred and fifty feet in length, with a return to break off the south-west winds; upon this return is a store-house. The communication of this quay to the line wall within the covert way of South port, is, by a flight of thirty-nine stone steps, at the landing of which is a draw-bridge, thrown over every morning and raised every night; at the foot of these stairs on the right going down, is a stone basin, and a channel through the wall continued to a well in the garden of fine water, which being carried into this channel, pursues a course into the above basin, where shipping take in water. At a little distance to the southward there is a bastion, which runs out from the line wall with ten embrasures; two of them opened in the flanks in one thousand seven hundred and fifty-three: this bastion originally was built by the Spaniards, and was the redoubt of which the English availed themselves, after the blast at the old mole in one thousand seven hundred and four. From the covert way South port to this work there are two flanks, upon one a crane is built to land stores from the ragged staff, the other has an embrasure; this wall is likewise continued to the new mole fort, with two flanks of one gun each fronting the fort; and two flanks of two guns each fronting the eight gun battery. Most of this wall was rebuilt in one thousand seven hundred and twenty-five, and kept in good repair. On that part of the wall joining the new mole fort, are eleven embrasures to defend the inside of the said mole. The fort of this mole is of a triangular form, the side next the hill has a rampart and

and parapet for musketry, a guard-house, and part of the Spanish barrack is built within; and against this wall is a shed, which was a navy hospital, built on the outside of the wall against the face and flank of the bastion. The Land port gate of this fort is on the opposite flank within side, and against this flank is a small magazine, opposite to which, and on the south face of this bastion, is one piece of ordnance, and a howitzer. The curtain to the south bastion is long, and on the flank there are two pieces of cannon, and one on the angle of the shoulder; two on the south face, one on the salient angle, seven pointing to the north west, and two in barbet fronting the eight gun battery. The Water port gate which leads down to the new mole, has a dry ditch before it with a draw-bridge. The descent to the new mole is covered by a wall with loop-holes and a banquet, with a barrier at the bottom parallel to the north west-face. On this mole men of war heave down, and had until one thousand seven hundred and forty-eight a store-house built at the head of the mole, with two arched embrasures, which were pulled down, and in their room is built a circular barbet battery, containing six pieces of cannon; a serjeant's guard is inclosed on this end by a wall and gate, which divide this battery from the wharf. The back of this mole has a wall and banquet for musketry. There are several bad store-houses belonging to the navy on a wharf which they have run out to the northward of the above fort. Within musket shot of this mole, are two powder bomb-proof magazines, each capable of containing two thousand one hundred barrels of powder; and on an eminence to the eastward of these magazines, are barracks for seven hundred and sixty-eight men, with pavilions for officers. From the new mole to Rosia the line wall is continued and raised, where there is any appearance of climbing from the sea, and rocks scarped, and continued to the north point of Rosia bay, which is formed by several flanks mounted with fourteen pieces of cannon: in front of this bay are four arched embrasures masked, behind which

which the cannon are ready mounted. From the south point of this bay the rock ascends, and the wall is continued, though inaccessible from the sea, to a one gun barbet battery: the wall discontinues, and the rock ascends still higher, then they lower and separate, leaving an opening where a wall is raised with one embrasure. The rock from this to the camp battery is extremely uneven and broken, which has obliged the engineer to build three walls one over the other, to prevent the efforts of an enemy from ascending. To the east is the camp battery on the extremity of the ground, where a regiment encamped in the siege one thousand seven hundred and twenty-seven; but at present an hospital is erected on that spot, to contain one thousand seamen, with pavilions for surgeons and mates. The camp battery is over a small inlet, where it has been observed the navy landed their stores, &c. for building the said hospital, running out a jettee to secure their boats, and a crane at top to hoist up those materials, which were landed; the battery is mounted with two cannon that command the inlet, and has also a steep tract of ground full of palmettoes. On a rock over this steep ground is an old ruined guard room, called the prospect house, from which the rocks in a very irregular manner run in precipices towards the sea, where a little bay has a tolerable landing place for boats, but is surrounded with precipices; and to make the ascent more difficult, the rocks are scarped, and two walls are built for that purpose. A corporal's guard commands every part of this bay. At a little distance from the corporal's guard to the north, is a broken wall, and a strong pass from the above bay to the five gun battery at Europa, the rocks run in inaccessible and irregular precipices. This five gun barbet battery begins Europa line wall, constructed within side of the old Moorish wall, below it, and nearer the margin of the sea: this line wall has eleven embrasures, and the captain's guard is in the center of Europa plain, fronting the above line wall, which was the chapel, where the women were by the sailors intercepted when

A VIEW of the South



Thos. Kitchen Sculp.

- | | | | |
|-------------------|-------|-------------------------|-------|
| A. Mons Calpe . | _____ | D. Gibraltar Bay . | _____ |
| B. Saint Rocque . | ----- | E. Europa Point . | ----- |
| C. New Mole . | _____ | F. The Straits of Gibra | _____ |

when we first took the place. The south extremity of this line wall makes one of the points, which forms the eastern part of Gibraltar bay. The rocks make a return easterly, and are the bounds of the Mediterranean sea; the rocks on this side are more regular and more inaccessible. An old watch tower is on Europa wall, which has a corporal's guard detached at night from Europa guard. Near this tower is a centinel's box built on a wave-worn rock, which hangs over the sea several feet, vulgarly called Europa point; one gun is mounted by it, to protect vessels from the Barbary corsairs; and at a little distance another gun is mounted for the same intent, both are in barbet. On this plain of Europa is a Moorish bath, on the north of which, and up a steep part of the rock, is the beef-steak cave; contiguous is a pass to upper Europa, steep and stoney. On the road, and at a little distance from the Moorish bath, is a pass that leads to the back of a hill, where a wall is built to prevent people from falling into the sea; continuing on this road, and about mid-way to the advance, is a quarry of stone, at the foot of which, next the sea, is a hole in the rock, over which is a wheel that lowers the stone, ready fashioned, into boats. Europa advance at present is a serjeant's guard, with a circular wall towards the sea and three embrasures. Several rocks which assisted the marines of Sir George Rooke's fleet in the getting up, have been since blown, and well scarped in the front of it, and a new guard-house built for officers and men, with five embrasures, towards the serjeant's advance, the whole was made in one thousand seven hundred and thirty-three: it was formerly a part where fishermen used to resort, and where they dwelt, and where they easily got up and down; but at present an inaccessible precipice: between this and the corporal's advance are two pieces of cannon: this corporal's advance is the utmost bounds at the back of the hill, as there is no passing beyond it; for on the right is the sea at the foot of the precipice, in front a great precipice also, and on the left an inaccessible rock, so this guard.

guard is of no other use than to look towards the sea, and back of the hill: from the serjeant's advance is a steep road to upper Europa, through a broken passage in the remains of an old Moorish wall, which is in the best condition of any of their works, that is not altogether of tapia. This upper Europa is pretty level, but very rocky; on the south-west part of it are ruins of an ancient circular building, called by the English the inquisition: there are also on this plain two towers, designed for corn mills, and a deep well: there the artillery practised the long gun till the year one thousand seven hundred and forty-nine, as they do that of the mortar on the south bastion: but the practice ground of the artillery was originally on the isthmus. From the above corporal's advance, the rock still continues in precipices at the back of the hill of various heights, from one hundred and twenty feet, to one thousand four hundred and three feet, and inclines round quite under the rock guard and Willis's, then dividing itself into two parts, the one continuing from Willis's to the upper part of the Moorish castle, the other runs under the king's and prince's lines, down to the prince of Hesse's battery, then loses itself in the entrance of the town. On the side of the hill to the southward, and at eleven hundred and ten feet high, nearly in a line with the grand barracks and new mole, is an opening in the mountain, called St. Michael's cave, to the north of which, and within the side of Charles the fifth's wall, is the signal-house, built by the Spaniards to give intelligence to the town, (by a person paid and appointed for that purpose) of what number of ships are seen in the ocean, or Mediterranean sea. A serjeant's guard mounts there every morning. There is, a little to the southward, a corporal's guard-house, at the top of Charles the fifth's wall. From the signal-house a road (made by general Bland's order) leads to the middle hill, where the Spaniards made the guard prisoners. Within these few years a great part of the rocks at the back of middle hill has been scarped, with a wall raised, a serjeant's guard, and

a parapet capable of containing twenty musketeers, so that there is no danger of an escalade at that part: here is one cannon and another at the signal-house: the same road continues to Willis's, from whence is a steep and difficult road that ascends to the rock guard, and is a good look-out. Thus having slightly run over the works of the garrison, which the reader may trace in the general plan of eight hundred feet to an inch,

I shall now remind him, that I am treating of the place, as it stood in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-five, when I left that garrison; since which, vast additions and improvements have been added by the different governours; and all art is now continued by the engineers and artillery officers, so as to render that valuable fortress impregnable: I must remind him of the sieges it has at various periods undergone, both before the invention of cannon and since, the glorious defences it has made, and the regular steps in point of strength, since we took it in one thousand seven hundred and four. The list of some of the governours, with the æra they commenced, and commandants of that inestimable place from the time the prince of Hesse deputed one, is unluckily burnt; but I shall endeavour to gratify the reader with as many as I am able.

Tharek was the person, from whom Mons Calpe was changed to the mountain of Tharek, i. e. Gebel Tharek. Moufa landed at Gibraltar and Tarif, with count Julian, who might all have been upon the base of this hill, and to have laid out the lower fort, next to the bay; but the honour of the whole is ascribed to Aby el Hagag, grandson of Aby el Walid, the first caliph of the Saracens (1), as the inscription still shews. Ever after the Moors held this fortress in great estimation, but I find nothing of it till about the year one thousand three hundred and nine, when don Alphonso Perez de Guzman, and don John Nugnes de Lara took it, for don Ferdinand (2) lived but a short time in that garrison.

(1) See Vol. I. p. 35.

(2) Idem, p. 85.

Gibraltar was lost, and again in the hands of the Moors; for about the year one thousand three hundred and forty (3), after the battle of Salado, the Moorish king Alboacen fled to that fortress (4).

King Henry of Castile resided in Gibraltar (5).

In one thousand three hundred and thirty-one, don Vasco Perez de Meyra commanded in Gibraltar.

In one thousand three hundred and thirty-three, Abomelic, son of Alboacen king of Morocco, took it from Vasco Perez, who was governor (6).

Soon after this, king Alonzo laid siege to it, but was obliged to raise it (7).

King Alonzo returned again, and laid close siege, but was obliged to desist a second time, and conclude a truce for four years. It remained in the possession of Abomelic, who joined it to his royal titles.

In one thousand three hundred and forty-nine, or one thousand three hundred and fifty, Alboacen, son of Alboacen, was in possession of Gibraltar (8). The works had been augmenting and strengthened to a great degree, ever since one thousand three hundred and thirty-three. Alonzo the eleventh laid close siege, and died in the trenches before the place, in this year of one thousand three hundred and fifty (9); and the siege was raised again.

About one thousand four hundred and twenty-seven, Gibraltar was under the usurper and tyrant Mahumet called the Little, but opened its gates to the lawful king Mahumet Aben Affar.

In one thousand four hundred and thirty-five, don Henry de Guzman imprudently landed, but was repulsed, and drowned with forty knights (1).

In one thousand four hundred and fifty-five, king Henry the fourth, of Castile, was at Gibraltar on a visit.

(3) Idem, p. 95—98. (4) Idem, p. 98. (5) Idem, p. 352. (6) See Vol. II. p. 95. (7) Idem, p. 96. (8) Idem, p. 99. (9) Idem, p. 102.

In one thousand four hundred and sixty-two, don Henry the fourth, and nineteenth king of Castile, and twentieth of Leon, sent don John de Guzman, the first duke of Medina Sidonia, who took Gibraltar: and king Henry took the title of king of Gibraltar: for this city had been the chief in the kingdom of Abomelic, the infant of Morocco, son to king Alboacen of the kindred of the Merins.

Pedro de Porras was made governour.

In one thousand four hundred and sixty-three, king Henry of Castile made a journey to Gibraltar, and unjustly appropriated it to don Bertrand de la Cueva, earl of Ledesma, in room of Pedro de Porras; and placed there for governour Stephano de Villacreces.

The duke of Medina recovered it, and it was joined to his other possessions, and remained so, till it was re-united to the crown of Ferdinand and Isabella in one thousand five hundred and two.

In one thousand five hundred and six, the duke sent his son, who besieged it, but the siege was raised (2).

In one thousand five hundred and forty, Piali Hamet surprised the place and plundered it.

In the reign of Charles the fifth, it was fortified in the modern stile, by his engineer Daniel Speckel, in one thousand five hundred and eighty-nine.

In one thousand seven hundred and one, the French had a design to possess themselves of Gibraltar (3).

In one thousand seven hundred and four, the prince of Hesse and Sir George Rooke took Gibraltar.

In one thousand seven hundred and four, the marquis de Salines was the Spanish governour, succeeded by the prince of Hesse D'Armstadt, commander in chief, in one thousand seven hundred and four, and one thousand seven hundred and five.

(2) Idem, p. 105.

(3) Idem, p. 116.

The beginning of August, one thousand seven hundred and five, king Charles the third arrived in Gibraltar, and was there received as lawful sovereign of Spain.

Major general Ramas was appointed governour of Gibraltar by his catholic majesty Charles the third in one thousand seven hundred and five.

Roger Elliot succeeded major general Ramas as governour in one thousand seven hundred and six: how long he enjoyed that honourable command, I know not; but from this time, to the government of colonel Congreve, is a chasm.

Colonel Congreve was governour before the year one thousand seven hundred and fourteen.

Colonel Cotton succeeded colonel Congreve.

Lieutenant colonel Godby was commandant in the absence of colonel Cotton.

Colonel Cotton returned to his government.

Lieutenant colonel Bowes succeeded colonel Cotton as deputy.

Major Hetherington succeeded colonel Bowes, as commandant.

Lord Portmore and colonel Kane were at Gibraltar, in one thousand seven hundred and twenty-two.

Colonel Cotton, though absent, was still governour of Gibraltar.

Lieutenant colonel Hargrave, commandant at the departure of lord Portmore.

Lord Portmore governour in one thousand seven hundred and twenty-seven.

Lieutenant colonel Hargrave, commandant.

Lieutenant general Sabine, governour in one thousand seven hundred and thirty.

—— Columbine, governour.

General Hargrave, governour.

General Hargrave succeeded by general Bland, and a general relief of troops, i. e. four battalions of foot and a company of artillery in one thousand seven hundred and forty-nine.

Lord

Lord George Beauclerk, commandant in the absence of general Bland.

General Herbert succeeded Lord George as commandant.

General Fowke, governour in one thousand seven hundred and fifty-three.

Lord Tyrawley, governour, and succeeded general Fowke.

Lord Panmure, commandant in the absence of lord Tyrawley.

Lord Hume, governour, died there.

Colonel Tovey, commandant.

General Parflow, commandant.

General Cornwallis, governour.

Colonel Irwin, commandant in his absence.

General Cornwallis returned governour, and remained there in one thousand seven hundred and sixty-eight.

The modern works, since the invention of artillery, were raised by the engineer Daniel Speckel: the prince of Hesse increased them, particularly towards the isthmus; but Horneck was the first British engineer who carried them to any perfection, which were advantageously and happily continued and augmented by colonel Montresor, so as to make that fortress impregnable, while we continue masters of the sea: his immediate successor, colonel Patoun, went on in strengthening that rock; and lord Tyrawley added many advantageous new works and batteries: the garrison is still augmenting in strength, under the direction of the engineer — Green. No power whatever can take that place, unless a plague, pestilence, famine, or the want of ordnance, musketry, and ammunition, or some unforeseen stroke of providence should happen.

If it should so happen, that the British fleet should be blown up the Mediterranean, and there detained by westerly winds for some months; and a large fleet from Cadiz lay before Gibraltar, besieged by land, even in that case, it is not to be taken: the fire is too severe, and the ordnance too judiciously placed, for ships with all their fire.

fire to silence : for such is the nature of batteries and ships, that a fifty gun battery close to the sea side, where the water is sufficiently deep, that ships of the line may anchor within seventy yards, and looking into that battery : the shipping must dismount and silence that work. But a fascine battery of five twenty-four or eighteen pounders erected at one hundred and fifty yards, retired from the margin of the sea, that will not admit of the same number of ships to come nearer than one hundred and fifty yards more ; that five gun battery will oblige those ships to weigh and stand off.

If batteries are raised upon heights, and retired a very little, so that shipping cannot anchor nearer than two hundred and fifty yards : the shot from on float will have very little or no real effect, while every shot from the battery must take place. Now, the line of defence of Gibraltar from the end of the new mole to Willis's and Forbes's battery in the lines, cannot be silenced from the isthmus ; nor is it in the enemy's power to escalate those precipices, or destroy the flanks, which are many, and several in reverse : so the rocks the whole length of the town, and the shallowness of the bay beyond them, will not suffer men of war of the line to approach, but must lay exposed to a tremendous fire, from the very broad ramparts of that fortress, mounted with three hundred and thirty-four pieces of cannon, and seventy-one howitzers and mortars. The elevation of the castle is of very respectable consequence fronting the bay from the back of the old mole along the town wall. The south bastion, with the retired judicious batteries raised by lord Tyrawley on the red sands fifty feet above low water mark, and to the southward must force every ship from her anchorage, that may lie exposed to the prodigious and advantageous fire from the artillery. In short, the reader may recollect the fifteen thousand shot fired by the British fleet at one object only of that then too much neglected garrison : the siege it sustained almost immediately after, as also that of one thousand

thousand seven hundred and twenty-seven: since which, Gibraltar is (allowing the expressions) five hundred times stronger, and, in my opinion, impregnable.

By famine, the Spaniards could not reduce the place, because it is supplied constantly with six months provisions, performed by contract, and to do them justice, I have examined several abstracts, and have compared them with their monthly returns: how long the provisions in stores will serve three thousand four hundred and fifty-eight men, according to the full allowance to all degrees of people, both military and civil, that have a right to receive the said provisions (and I have found that the contractors have had much more in store than what was sufficient: for by the returns given in, dated July the twenty-second, one thousand seven hundred and fifty-three: persons three thousand four hundred and fifty-eight. May the twentieth, one thousand seven hundred and fifty-three: persons three thousand four hundred and twenty. On June the third, one thousand seven hundred and fifty-three, &c. persons three thousand four hundred and twenty) did plainly appear, that there were provisions sufficient to support the garrison ten months at full allowance. The reason why the number of persons are not equal in each month, is on account of death, and leave of absence.

The two head clerks of the Victualling office at Gibraltar, whenever they gave in a report of provisions in store to the governor, did always take their oath before him, that there was a sufficient quantity of provisions to last the garrison as many days as they inserted in their reports to him.

Each soldier's allowance for a whole week, is bread, seven pounds; butter, ten ounces; beef, two pounds; pork, one pound eight ounces; oatmeal, one quart and one pint; pease, two quarts.

A list of inhabitants, taken March the twentieth, one thousand seven hundred and fifty-three.

	Numbers
Those of Britain; men, women, boys, and girls - - -	331
Those of the Navy and Victualling office - - -	83
Those of Genoa - - - - -	597
Those of Spain - - - - -	185
Those of Portugal - - - - -	25
Jews - - - - -	572
Total - - -	<u>1793</u>

A list of the inhabitants taken the twenty-eighth of September, one thousand seven hundred and fifty-four.

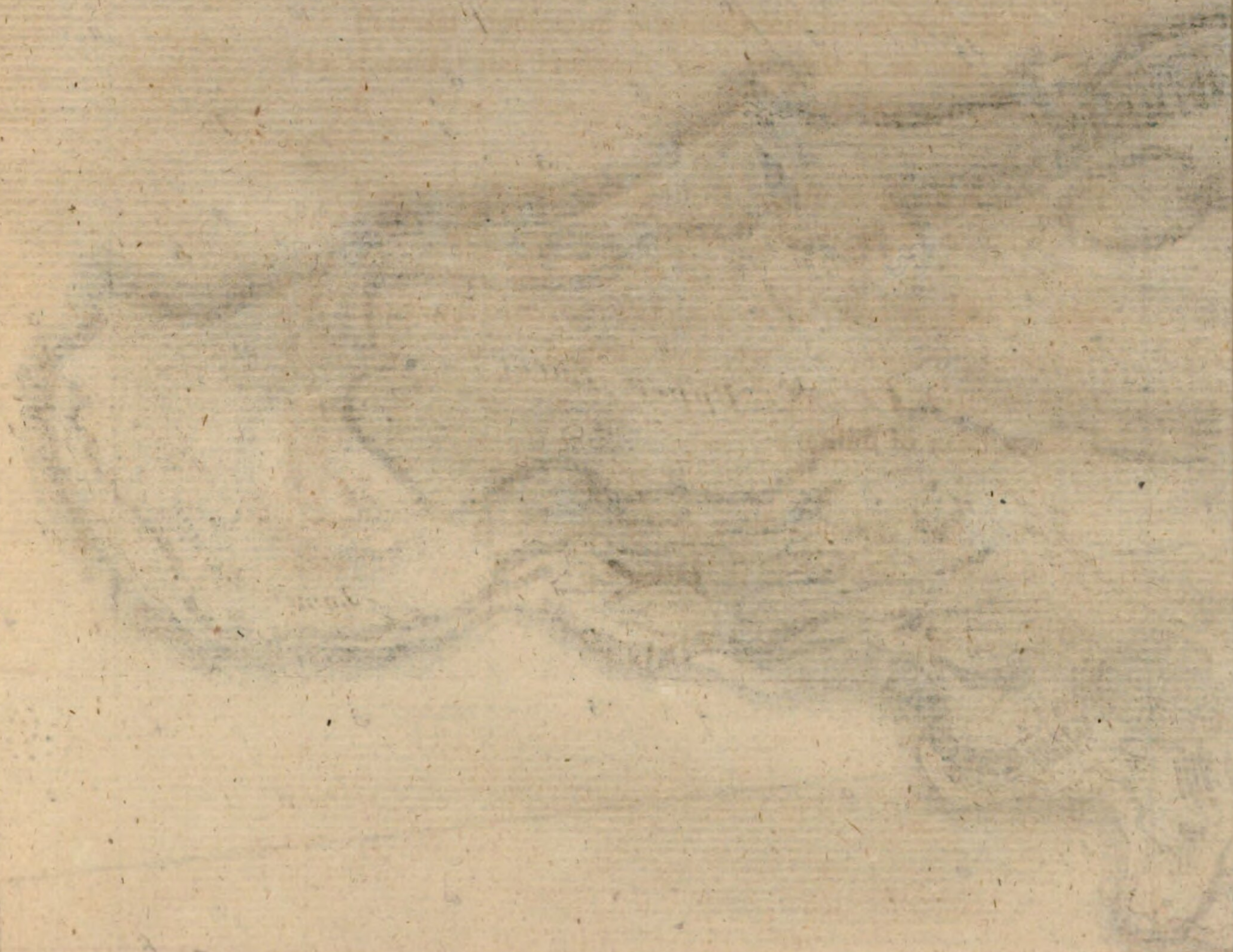
Roman Catholics -	{ Men - - - - -	250
	{ Women - - - - -	112
	{ Boys - - - - -	135
	{ Girls - - - - -	295
Jews - - - - -		604
British, I have not heard that there was an account taken: suppose the same as in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-three - - - - -		414
Total - - -		<u>1810</u>

The total number of military, supposing the four regiments complete - - - - -	2800
Artillery - - - - -	107
Officers military and civil to complete the four regiments	182
Number of women, military, and children - - -	1426
Total number of Britons civil - - - - -	414
Total number of military - - - - -	4452
Total - - -	<u>4866</u>
The number of catholics short of the protestants - - -	4074
The number of souls of all sects in the garrison - - -	6260

N. B.

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11 A



N. B. These are constant inhabitants, but when the coast-barks arrive in numbers to supply the place, then the catholics increase; which induced many (who have observed their return from mass) to believe that there were more catholics than the above. At this time, four regiments in the garrison, and one company of artillery.

REFERENCES TO THE PLAN.

- 1 rock guard.
- 2 queen's and other batteries, formerly Willis's, between four and five hundred feet above the level of the isthmus.
- 3 lord Forbes's battery and the amphitheatre, also called the prince's line.
- 4 the cave and communication under cover within the King's line that leads by a flight of steps up to the prince's.
- 5 the upper center, and lower Moorish castles.
- 6 entrance into the lines.
- 7 the grand S. royal battery and north bastion, formerly called St. Paul's.
- 8 the cover port.
- 9 the communication from the bastion (a), formerly called St. Peter's, into the lines.
- 10 the ordnance store house and shot yard on the esplanade, where the Moors formerly built their galleys and launched through the Water port. No. 11.
- 11 the Water port gate with a wet ditch, draw-bridge, pratic house, guard room, covert way, and quay for landing goods.
- 12 the old mole of twenty-three guns and eleven mortars, where lies all the small craft, such as tartans, polacres, &c.
- 13 the prince of Orange's battery.
- 14 Montague's, formerly St. Anne's bastion.
- 15 saluting battery of twenty-one guns.
- 16 the parade and fountain.
- 17 the town's battery, formerly the main guards.

18 paradise in miniature, because a French resident had there a delightful garden.

19 Norman's, formerly St. Anthony's, bastion.

20 the bomb house, the residence of the ordnance store keeper, formerly the dwelling of the Moorish governour; also Cockayne's battery.

21 the battery before the governour's house and gardens (bb).

22 the south, formerly the bastion of St. Rofia.

23 the south port magazine.

24 the south port gate, guard, bridge, ditch, and covert way.

25 the new arsenal.

26 the new victualling office.

27 the grand barracks.

28 the watering place or little mole, formerly called the ragged staff, where the fleets send their boats for water.

29 the ten gun, formerly the duke's bastion; the redan, of which the sailors availed themselves, after they had taken possession of the new mole when the English took that fortress in one thousand seven hundred and four.

30 milk house guard.

31 grand barracks with pavilions for officers.

32 double magazines bomb-proof.

33 house and gardens for entertainment.

34 a dwelling-house, formerly an oratory dedicated to St. John.

35 a guard-house.

36 The fort, called by the French, fort Anglois, because the English possessed themselves of that place when they took Gibraltar in one thousand seven hundred and four.

37 the vineyard and house belonging thereto.

38 Rofia guard-house.

39 the navy hospital.

40 an oratory called St. Rofia.

41 an oratory of Christ.

- 42 the camp-guard.
- 43 wind mills.
- 44 the pass of the Moorish wall, now called the hole in the wall.
- 45 Europa advanced.
- 46 Scarp rock guard-house.
- 47 a sand bank.
- 48 St. Michael's cave.
- 49 Charles the fifth's wall.
- 50 the Moorish wall and signal-house.
- 51 Middle-hill guards.
- 52 passage guard.
- 53 Moorish bath.
- 54 our lady of Europa, now Europa-guard.
- 55 five gun battery and Europa line wall.
- 56 artillery store-houses.
- 57 the hospital.
- 58 guard-house.
- 59 the inundation.
- 60 sluice to the inundation.
- 61 the aqueduct.
- 62 the new mole.
- 63 bay of St. John's, now Rosia.
- 64 hospital bay.
- 65 Europa bay.
- 66 Little Europa.
- 67 Europa point.
- 68 Catalan bay.

		Guns	
A	wind mill battery of	18	} against the town and Willis's.
B	royal battery - - -	21	
C	second battery - - -	6	} against the town and mole.
D	third battery - - -	12	

T t 2

E three

Guns

E three batteries of - $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} 12 \\ 8 \\ 6 \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$ against the town.

F a battery of - - - 4 against Willis's.

G } three bomb batteries of $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} 3 \\ 5 \\ 6 \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$ mortars.
H }
I }

K three parallels.

L Spanish approaches.

M the grand line of communication.

N entrance of the mine under Willis's.

O works designed by the enemy, if the siege had gone on.

P a battery of forty guns, intended if the siege had gone on.

Q four bomb batteries, of fifteen mortars each, intended if the siege had gone on.

R line of huts, made since the siege, but at present greatly reduced.

S Spanish lines.

T the artillery practice butt.

U the Devil's tower.

V English frigates and bomb ketches, to enfilade and bombard the Spanish approaches.

W the direction of the enemy's fire into the Mediterranean sea and bay of Gibraltar.

X the anchorage ground for the ships of war.

C H A P. VII.

A MORE CIRCUMSTANTIAL ACCOUNT OF SOME PARTICULARS.

THE reader may perceive by the latter, as well as former part of this work, that I cannot by any means allow a town, fort, or castle, to have been erected until the coming of the Moors,

Moors, under their leader, who gave a new name to the mountain and Straits; so that we cannot with any certainty pretend to search for the remains of antiquity any way material before the Christian æra seven hundred and eleven, in which period we may with safety reckon the lower castle to have been begun: but although I cannot trace any material remains of antiquity, yet I believe that the old arched tower, near Europa point, exceeded the Moors, or perhaps the Romans, as the Carthaginians and Phœnicians were masters of the sea, had a stately temple at Gades and at Medina Sidonia, and carried on a great trade from Tyre, with the native Spaniards, from their new city of Carteia, or Heraclea, or Calpe Carteia; and this Gades, its ancient appellation Gadir, because in the Punic language it sounds like a fenced place, and because it is inclosed by the sea (1). This island is without the Straits, in the south part of Spain, divided from the continent by a small creek: to this island, now called Cadiz, Cadix, and corruptly Calis and Cales, sailed the ancient inhabitants of Phœnicia, for Gadir was built by the Tyrian fleet: now as these great navigators were always obliged to pass between Europa and Ceuta points, it is reasonable to conclude, that a light and watch tower were, by that great people the Tyrians, erected upon this promontory, and what further strengthens my assertion is this; all the watch or light towers on the coast from Cabrita point to Malaga, or on the coast of Barbary that I have seen, are differently constructed: their entrance being within a third of the summit, and by means of a rope ladder that the tower man pulls after him (when up) does thereby secure himself against another ladder, because on the top of the tower, directly over the entrance, is a projection, at the end of which is a blind of stone, that covers the tower man and family from being seen without; and from the tower to the blind, the bottom is left open, through which opening, stones, arrows,

(1) Lucan.

darts, and other missive weapons, may be cast, on the heads of those that dare assail the said tower. Pliny mentions watch towers to have been upon the coast as a common thing. The tower at Europa point has a room arched at the foundation in the Roman stile, and winding stairs on the outside of the top, easily to be traced; but before the building of Europa line wall, the most part of the steps were entire; and that watch towers were of a long standing on the coasts of Spain is unquestionable. However, Mr. Morgan asserts, that when the Moors were expelled from Granada, that the Spaniards had few towers remaining on their coast; and the reason is plain; for while the Moors were in possession of the Spanish shore, they had nothing to dread from their own opposite coast of Barbary, as the Iberians and Goths had before the Africans descent in seven hundred and eleven; but since their expulsion, they are under the same apprehensions as heretofore; and have therefore rebuilt their old speculums, and erected many new ones. The coved room now is made use of for a guard of soldiers, and vulgarly called the Dead Man's Hole, on account that a gentleman was, at his particular desire, buried there under the floor of the above room. At a few yards distance from the above tower, is the stone sentinel box, on the summit of a wave-worn rock, thirty-four yards and two feet high from the surface of the sea, and falsely termed the southernmost point in Europe. At some small distance, and nearly in the center of Europa plain, at right angles to the captain's guard-house, was the Spanish chapel, called our lady of Europa; it is the ruins of a Moorish structure, and there are two rooms still remaining, which are coved in the Moorish stile, and in all probability this was either a mosque or a saint's house; the retired situation perhaps invited them to raise this sanctuary, as it might be more agreeable to the solitary disposition of its first inhabitant, and at the same time cause a venerable attraction from religious minds, by so forlorn a situation. To the eastward of this building, and on the same rocky plain, is a Moorish

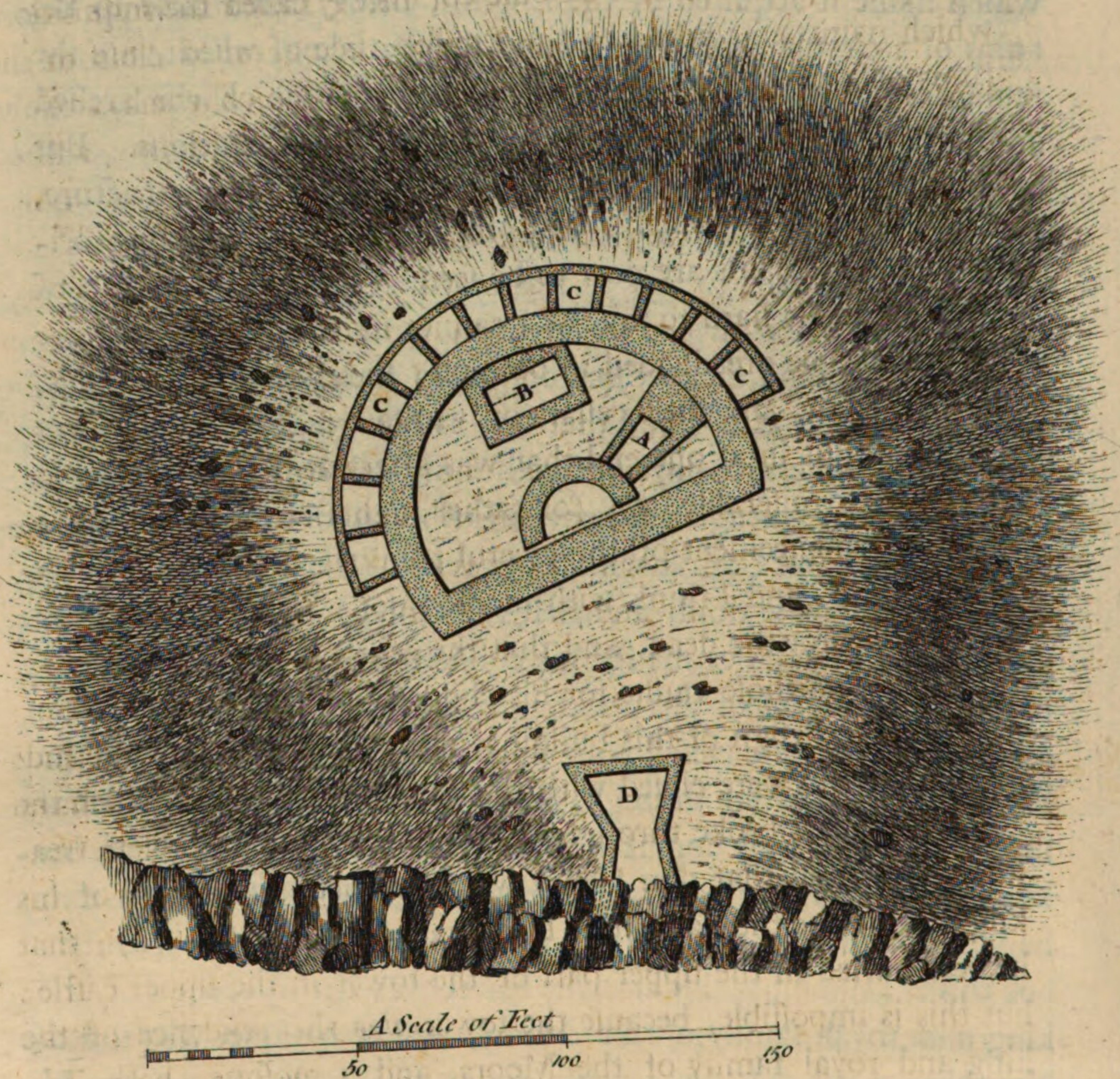
bath sunk in the rock; the length is seventy feet, and breadth forty-two; the whole arched, which springs from twenty small square pillars of brick and ten imposts; most of them being entire, but the crowns of these arches in some places are fallen in, as is likewise the entrance in front. The floor has been paved, but there are very little traces now to be discovered. In winter, it generally has four feet water, which diminishes in proportion as the heat of the summer increases: it was repaired by order of general Fowke, whereby the water is preserved. This reservoir breeds the leech; and soldiers who have drank it, have complained to the physicians of their apprehension of a decay, as they had occasion often to spit blood; for the small animalculæ of the leech, having adhered under their tongues, there grew, and sucking for sustenance, caused the discharge of blood; which at first not knowing the cause of such a discharge, frightened some of the men not a little. To the left of this bath, and at a small distance up a steep part of the hill, is a cave, vulgarly termed the Beef Steak Cave, acquiring this appellation by being resorted to, once a week, by people who dressed their steaks, made merry, and then returned home. Between the above bath and Europa advance, is a fine quarry of stone, nearly resembling the Portland; is very good for making of platforms, and very free in working. At the foot of this quarry is a very curious and natural cavity in the rock of eight feet, by four in diameter. Over this chasm is a wheel that lowers the stones into boats that may be ready to receive them. From the top of the opening down to the sea, is eighty feet, and by the perpetual dashing of the waves, since the general deluge, a small bay is formed under this rock, capable of containing three large boats at a time; but as so fine a road is now made, there will be little or no occasion for the former convenience. These are large quarries of freestone; the outward crust is very hard, occasioned by the intense heat of the burning sun, and the saline particles of the sea, that penetrates and corrodes the surface, when the Levant winds

winds blow, to whose turbulency and clammy blast this part of the hill is exposed: the billows then running very high, which lash the foot of the irregular-sounding wave-worn rocks, from whence they recoil in a vast foam, and as they sweep back, collect new force, being hurried forwards by the third new accumulating billow, that sweeps the bottom of many feet, heaving the very bed on which they flow, scattering both sand and shells upon Europa rocky plain, many yards from the bold margin of the bluff precipice of the Mediterranean sea. On this part of Gibraltar rock there is not any thing more antique: however, before we proceed any further, I must beg leave to digress a little, having in the foregoing sheets barely hinted at a particular circumstance that requires to be explained. In a book, intituled, "An Impartial Inquiry into the war abroad by the ministry at home," the writer observes, that the prince of Hesse landed on the isthmus and near to Europa point; which last particular is not mentioned by any, except this author, which has induced some people to imagine, that it must have been inserted by the mistake of the press, as this part of the rock runs in inaccessible precipices: which is very true, but at the same time give me leave to affirm, that before the year one thousand seven hundred and thirty-three, and on the very spot where the serjeant's guard now stands, before which is a circular wall with cannon mounted for a defence, was a receptacle for fishermen, who had huts erected for their dwelling, and had likewise an easy ascent from the sea up to where this guard room now stands; but the rocks were in the above year blown so as to form an inaccessible precipice of one hundred feet in height. Therefore I conclude, that some men were landed at this place by the prince of Hesse's order, as it is very absurd to imagine that so able a commander would have neglected so great an advantage: and who had a great many Spaniards on board the allied fleet, who were volunteers, from whom, no doubt, he collected all the intelligence he possibly could. But to proceed: on the plain called upper

Europa,

Europa, are the ruins of a house commonly called the inquisition, which name it acquired by the English, being raised close to the ruins of a circular building: round the outside of which, are the remains of several apartments, three of them which are arched are entire, the rest can only be traced by their foundations. But by an old plan (which I saw) this ruin had a superstructure, though no remains are now to be seen. What this building originally was, is hard to say, as I cannot find any account given of it; and people are divided in opinion; some imagine it to have been a prison, and these cellars or vaults designed for criminals, who were put in at one end that was afterwards closed up; there to end their miserable days (or rather nights) by famine, erected at the commencement of the awful tribunal of the inquisition: while others (and I think with more reason) imagine that it was a repository for the dead, and that the center was a sepulchre for the king, and those vaults for his children and relations. Whatever was the design of this building, it is very certain that the ends of those cellars were closed with thick masonry, some of which the English soldiers broke through, in hopes of finding hidden treasure. It is said that don Henry was drowned, with forty of his knights, in one thousand four hundred and thirty-five (2); that he was buried in the upper part of the tower in the upper castle: but this is impossible, because the tower was the residence of the king and royal family of the Moors, and a mosque, bath, &c. Now they never did, do, or will, suffer a Christian to be buried near their place of worship. I therefore believe Henry's tomb was at this place, and it became a royal family repository: but this is conjecture, and, as such, I submit it.

(2) See Vol. II. p. 105, of this history.



EXPLANATION:

- A the king's vault.
- B the queen's or childrens vault.
- C the relations vaults, &c.
- D the inquisition, most probably a small oratory; dedicated to the deceased, where prayers were given up for their souls.

On

On the road from the town, and where it branches off to the upper and lower Europa, are the ruins of a small building, which had a cross erected on it; and where the inhabitants generally stopt and prayed, before they approached the chapel of Europa; which was called the chapel of Christ. A little on the left of the lower road, at two hundred yards distance from the above cross, and about the same distance from the pass of the palmettoes, are two small openings in the rock; the one a precipice, the other admits a single man to enter it: through which passage, inclining to the south, you advance into a spacious but dark cavern; on your left hand is a rugged deep pit, which, with great care, and by the assistance of a rope, you descend a considerable depth into another cave larger than the upper one: the profundity still continues, but how deep I cannot pretend to say. Several pillars of petrified water are in these, as in most other caves, which are many on this peninsula, and all subject to petrification; but as the description of every particular one would be too prolix, and at the same time intruding too much on the reader's patience, I shall speak of them in general, and dwell only upon the most remarkable, as that of St. Michael's; a large chasm on the side, and in the very bowels of the hill, at one thousand one hundred feet above the horizon, and in a line with the south barracks and the new mole: which I mention circumstantially, as no one should visit this garrison, without viewing the cave; before whose entrance is the remains of a strong wall, seventy-six feet in length; which I am apt to believe was built by the Spaniards at the expulsion of the Moors, through a superstitious remembrance, and great veneration and esteem which those bigotted people conceived of the cave of Corbadanga, which gave the first check to the rapid conquest of the Moors, under the conduct of the great Pelayus, who was proclaimed king of Spain by the choice of the people of Asturia, Galicia, and Biscay; and raised an army to oppose the infidels; but upon the approach of a superiour and better disci-

plined one, under the command of Alcama, one of the most noted generals that came out of Afric with Tarif, who had with him don Oppas, the bishop of Seville, and an army of Goths, which obliged Pelayus to disband most of his raw, disheartened, and undisciplined men, into the neighbouring towns, reserving only a thousand of the choicest: with them he betook himself to a large cave, on the mountain Aufena, now called the cave of St. Mary de Corbadanga. The Moors pursued him to the entrance, and sent don Oppas the bishop to speak with Pelayus: the bishop used all his rhetoric to bring Pelayus to an accommodation, but to no purpose; the event was remitted to the decision of missive weapons. The infidels attacked the cave, pouring showers of darts and stones, which being flung by the rear ranks, rebounded back on those in front causing great slaughter, and threw them into the utmost confusion. Pelayus perceiving it, rushed upon the foe with his select thousand, who being amazed, turned their backs and fled: twenty thousand were killed with their general Alcama, don Oppas is supposed to have been taken and put to death. After this defeat, the Moors suffered losses continually, until they were totally expelled from any government in Spain; not but that I am certain there are still Moors in the country, though not known by their neighbours. The above recited extraordinary consequence of the cave, might have induced the Spaniards at the time when the Moors were driven out of the country, to erect this square building at the mouth of this cave, upon our mountain of Gibraltar, and which in all probability had a superstructure inhabited by a hermit, who dedicated it to the honour of St. Michael. In Spain I have seen caves inhabited by whole families merely out of necessity, because they are most wretchedly poor; though at first superstition was the sole motive which induced those bigotted people to inhabit those desolate abodes, and several hermitages I have seen on the sides of hills, which formerly were occupied by a Moorish castle, &c. on whose remains the Spaniards have

have erected large wooden crosses, by way of charm, to keep the Moors out of those fastnesses. However, there are some who attribute the building of the square wall to the Moors, designed, as they say, for a defence against the approaching it; and that the Moors took refuge, and there perished, after having been driven by the Spaniards to that place: but how true this assertion may be, I cannot pretend to say: it is only oral, and no mention is made of this cave by father Mariana, Turquet, Faria y Sousa, or others; who in all probability would have taken notice of it, had an event of so extraordinary a nature happened; because it could have been nothing less than the remains of the castle, and city garrisons, after defending their works to the very last extremity, retreating to this cave; a circumstance which would have redounded greatly to the honour of the Christian or Mahometan people, and what the Spanish historians would never have passed over in silence: its entrance is narrow, but broad within, like an urn, or pitcher; from whence it is thought that the ancient name of the hill derived its original, Calpe: but I must refer back to the very beginning of this history. To proceed: the opening of the above cave is no more than five feet, which having entered, you descend on a declined plain of mold that seems to have been raised on purpose, perhaps in the days of ignorance and superstition, when, no doubt, the priests raised money by pretended miracles transacted in this cave. This cave was remembered by the Spaniards in one thousand seven hundred and five, and perhaps the story of the cave of St. Mary de Corbadanga was no small spur to their hopes, in reducing the garrison of hereticks, could they be safely conducted there, through the pass of locust trees by the goat-herd; who (if the volunteers had succeeded) would have been canonized; and perhaps have put the nose of St. Roche out of joint: but neither St. Cabrita or St. Michael could prevail against the English and Dutch lions, as I have already shown, the whole party being cut off. When you descend the slope, the cave widens every

every way, and the light of torches discovers the mouths of several smaller ones. After you arrive at the foot of the slope, you still continue forward due east, by the assistance of your lights to the end of the large cave, which is two hundred feet in a strait line from the entrance, including the slope, and the width ninety-five. There are many pillars of two feet, and two and a half in diameter, formed by the perpetual droppings of water, that petrified in falling and rising. Several of these pillars are of thirty, forty, and fifty feet in height: and on the top of the cave between the pillars, arches are formed, so that the whole resembles the inside of the Gothic cathedral church: there are several small niches on the sides of the cave, and many small coved chapels; and from the center of the coves, there are rays of petrification that shoot so as to cover the top of the above chapels, all of petrified water: and by the assistance of many lights, the spectators are very agreeably surprised with the natural beauties of the gloomy cavern. In most of the cells, the water (which is copiously impregnated with a sparry matter) perpetually drips from the irregular prominences of the roof, and forms an infinite multitude of stalactitæ, or stoney icicles of various colours, some white, some grey, and some brown like sugar-candy, and of a vast variety of figures. These stalactitæ, stoney icicles, or drop-stones, are all composed of divers coats of crusts, of very little lustre or transparency; and as some of them are no bigger than a goose's quill, others are immensely large, and combining together, form those large columns already mentioned, of the Gothic kind, that seem at present to support the roof of this strange cave, as they will, in all likelihood, fill up its whole space in a term of years. The several gradations in the progress of these petrifications, may be easily discovered. In some places you see small capitals descending from the roof, making their way downwards, while proportionable bases are rising underneath, as the spar concretes that distils through the rock, and drops from above. Towards the south end of this cave, there are passages

passages between the pillars, that lead into other apartments; all are supported by pillars, some standing single, others three or four in a cluster; and the roofs of these apartments have the above petrified rays, which resemble the glories of some Roman catholic altar.

Mr. Neumann (3) observes, under the word water, that noxious waters are of three sorts; the first of which is the petrifying water, or such as abounds with earthy or stoney matter, which incrustates on solid bodies kept in the water, and often spontaneously separates, especially on the exhalation of a part of a fluid; whence the stalactitæ, stoney icicles, or drop-stones, are often met with in caverns of the earth. Some of these waters deposit their contents in a powdery form, others in that of a crumbly, and others of a very hard stoney mass; all which are to be met with in this, and other caves in this romantic and remarkable hill of Calpe.

In the center of one of these chapels is a large deep pit, down which some Englishmen, having lost their way and slipt, were, by the assistance of ropes and men, (let down) happily saved, though much bruised. Down this abyss I descended with others, till at length I arrived at a small hole of eighteen inches diameter, when finding the air too gross, we thought it more advisable not to descend any further, having sufficiently satisfied our curiosity: however, before we returned (notwithstanding our torches burned dim, and we fetched our breath much shorter than in the open air) we let down a rope with a weight at the end, through the above hole, fifty feet before it lodged; and whether that was the bottom of the pit, I cannot pretend to say. Our descent to this small hole was four hundred and eighty feet: as we let ourselves down, we found little apartments on either side to rest ourselves; likewise jetties, on which those that fell were stopt from falling lower; this long gallery, (if I may so call it) slopes in some places, on which you put your feet when you lower yourself by the rope,

(3) Neumann's Chemistry, § v. p. 254.

and

and then you hang perpendicular for a hundred feet before you can touch the rocks, which are nothing but petrified water, as is likewise the bottom where we stood, which once was open, and, in time, the hole of eighteen inches will be entirely closed. This is a dome, and on the outside we stood. I was very much surprised, as was every one at the entrance of the abyss, occasioned by the man who went first down, striking his heels against a sheet of petrified water, which hung hollow from the rock; the sound was like a deep-toned bell, but to those above, it was so confused that they knew not well what to make of it. I must observe, that on every jettee, likewise in every apartment or resting place, a man was placed with a torch; which being in a straight line to the entrance of the pit, formed a romantic and horrible scene.

There are several caves on and at the back of the hill, from Europa point to Sandy bay, all inclinable to the same laws of nature as that of St. Michael's, and therefore, as petrification prevails throughout this whole peninsula in so extraordinary a manner, one may venture to affirm that no vein of earth runs under Willis's battery, but that there was a cave; at the end of which the Spaniards attempted to mine. Some of the sparry columns are very imperfect in St. Michael's cave, and others completed to a rude resemblance of the Gothic stile of columns; that is, they form together a large compass of many pillars, adhering to each other. These mosses have probably been a great many ages in advancing to their present bulk, and though they are ever increasing, their growth is so slow, that more ages must pass before the whole cavern is filled up by them. Great quantities of these sparry concretions lie under feet every where to a considerable depth, and overspread the floor with their glittering ruins. On the west side of the road, by the pass of the palmettoes, are wonderful and curious heaps of rocks, forming inaccessible precipices, and a chasm of forty yards in breadth: some of these rents run north and south parallel to each other, and some in curves. On the sides of these
cliffs

cliffs are small caves, and the bottom of this chaos is strewed with rocks that have fallen from the top, which renders the passing through very disagreeable, and in some places impracticable. Joining this disorderly heap, and to the south-west, is a barren and very uneven tract of ground, upon which account it is called the Devil's bowling-green. Most of this part of Gibraltar rock from the sailors hospital to upper and lower Europa, and round to the advance, is barren and rocky, affording neither shelter for men or cattle; yet there are some small verdant plats, which could be planted so as to form shades to the panting cattle in the heat of summer, yielding fascines in case of necessity, and affording agreeable landscapes to those destined to remain on this peninsula. Notwithstanding the growth on this part of the hill does not yield shelter, yet it is not destitute of vegetation that springs among the rocks, after the first rains, which fall sometimes in September, and at other seasons not till the latter end of October; but in the summer months nothing is to be seen but barren rocks and small palmetto shrubs. The gardens of the garrison produce various trees, of which, with the herbs, roots, &c. I shall here give a catalogue, specifying the month when they spring, and likewise the parts of the hill on which they are to be found.

I shall first observe, that the soil, or vegetable earth of this rocky peninsula, is of several kinds: that of the hill is of a colour nearly approaching to black; it is light, loose, fine, and extremely fertile; it adheres together, and is of a saponaceous sliminess in the rainy seasons: and although it is only to be found in the small hollows, irregular parts, and crannies of the rocks on the face of the whole hill; yet it produces that vegetation and growth, as is inserted in my catalogue. The soil of the town is a red sand, which commences at the Land port gate, and continues to the barranca near the new mole to the southward, where the criminals are executed.

The soil on the south of the gully is variegated: a light soil as above, and then mixed with sand, with a stiff marly soil, and a kind of fuller's earth. The gardens are improved by being well manured, which produce all kinds of garden stuff in abundance.

The vine flourishes in an exuberancy, hardly to be paralleled any where: the large red, the large round white, the long red grape, the long white grape, the small round grape, both white and red; the small black grape, the white and red muscadel.

A catalogue of the vegetative life upon the hill of Gibraltar.

Acacia, June, back of the hill.	Balm, garden, Dec. front.
Adders tongue, December, ditto.	Balm of Cappadocia, April, front.
Alder black, November, front.	Balm Peru, ditto, ditto.
Ale-hoof, Dec. back of the hill.	Barbary bush, Dec. ditto.
Alexander, Nov. all over the hill.	Barianas, garden.
All-heal, Dec. front.	Barley, Dec. front.
All clown-heal, Dec. on the top of the hill.	Bay tree, Dec. front.
Almond tree, Dec. front.	Bay of Alexandria, ditto, all over.
Aloe black, ditto, ditto.	Bean, garden, October, front.
Amomum the true and common, ditto, back.	Ditto, horse, ditto, ditto.
Apple, April, town.	Ditto Malacca, ditto, ditto.
Archangel, red and white, April, back.	Bears breech, Dec. back.
Arrach, garden stinking, Dec. ditto.	Bear's foot, ditto, ditto.
Arse-smart, hot and spotted, all over.	Ladies bed-straw, ditto, all over.
Artichoke, Nov. front.	Beets white and red, Nov. front.
Afarabacca, Dec. all over.	Behen, ditto, Dec. ditto.
Asparagus, ditto, ditto.	Benjamin, Nov. front.
Affa foetida, ditto, back.	Betony Paul's, Dec. ditto.
Aven, Dec. front.	Ditto, water, ditto, ditto.
	Ditto, wood, ditto, ditto.
	Bindweed, green, all the year, all over.
	Ditto, rough, ditto, all over the hill.

Birdlime,

Birdlime, Dec. front.	Camphorata, Dec. all over.
Birthwort long, ditto, ditto.	Campions, all over the hill.
Ditto round, ditto, ditto.	Carota, Dec. garden.
Ditto wooded running, ditto,	Carrots, ditto, ditto.
all over.	Cassia purging, Oct. front.
Bishopsweed, Dec. ditto.	Catmint, Oct. all over the hill.
Ditto Candy-weed, ditto, ditto.	Centaury the great, March, front.
Bitter-sweet, Nov. front.	Ditto small, ditto, ditto.
Blackberry bush, or } Dec. all over	Chervil, Dec. all over.
Bramble,	Chickweed, ditto, ditto.
Blites, ditto, front.	Citron, ditto, front.
Bluebottle the greater, ditto, ditto.	Citrus, April, ditto.
Ditto the small, ditto, ditto.	Clivers, Dec. all over.
Boxtree, gardens, Dec.	Clovegillflower, Dec. gardens.
Borage, Dec. all over the hill.	Clover-grass, ditto, front.
Briony, black, ditto, all over.	Clown's mustard, ditto, ditto.
Ditto, white, ditto, ditto.	Coleworts, ditto, garden.
Brooklime, ditto, front.	Columbina, Dec. ditto.
Broom Spanish, ditto, all over.	Comfrey, ditto, ditto.
Buckhorn plantane, ditto, ditto.	Cucumber, garden and wild.
Bugloss, wild garden, ditto, front.	Couchgrass, Dec. front.
Ditto viper, Dec. ditto.	Cranesbill, common, all over.
Burdock, great, ditto, back of	Ditto musty, ditto.
the hill.	Cresses, July, garden.
Ditto small garden, Dec.	Ditto water, Dec. front.
Butterbur, Dec. all over.	Ditto wild, ditto, all over.
Cabbage, Oct. garden, front.	Crowfoot, Nov. ditto.
Calamint, mountain, all over.	Cuckow-flower, Dec. front.
Ditto water, Dec. front.	Ditto tree, ditto, ditto.
Ditto common, ditto, garden.	Daisy great, ditto, all over.
Calabashes, garden.	Ditto small, ditto, ditto.
Calthrops, Dec. over.	Dandelion, ditto, ditto.
Carduus Benedictus, ditto, front.	Danewort, Dec. all over.
Cammock, Dec. back of the hill.	Date tree, ditto, front of the hill.
Ditto wild, all the year, and all	Devil's-bit, ditto, all over.
over.	Dill, ditto, ditto.

Dittany, white, ditto, front.	Ground pine, Dec. over.
Ditto Crete, ditto, ditto.	Groundfil, ditto, ditto.
Dock, common, ditto, all over.	Gum Arabic, ditto, front.
Ditto sharp or pointed, ditto, ditto.	Hares foot, ditto, ditto.
Dodder of thyme, ditto, ditto.	Hartstongue, ditto, ditto.
Dog's-grass, ditto, ditto.	Hartswort, ditto, over.
Ditto rose, ditto, ditto.	Hawthorn, ditto, ditto.
Dropwort, ditto, ditto.	Hedge mustard, ditto, front.
Duck's-meat, ditto, front.	Hellebore, black, ditto, over.
Elder, Feb. all over.	Ditto white, ditto, ditto.
Elder, dwarf, Dec. ditto.	Helmet flower, ditto, back.
Endive, ditto, garden.	Henbane, ditto, over.
Eyebright, March, front.	Herb Robert, ditto, front.
Fennel, Dec. over.	Holly sea, ditto, ditto.
Ditto flower, ditto, gardens.	Holy oak, ditto, garden.
Ditto hogs, ditto, over.	Honeyfuckle, ditto, over.
Ditto giant, ditto, ditto.	Horehound, ditto, back.
Feverfew, ditto, ditto.	Horsetail, ditto, ditto.
Fig tree, Feb. ditto.	Ditto tongue, ditto, front.
Ditto water, ditto, ditto.	Horehound, stinking, ditto, over.
Figwort, common, Feb.	Hound's tongue, ditto, ditto.
Fitch, Dec. ditto, ditto.	Houseleek, great, ditto, ditto.
Flagsweet, July, ditto.	Ditto small, ditto, ditto.
Flax toad, Dec. ditto.	Jacinth, Dec. garden.
Flax mountain, ditto, ditto.	Indian corn, ditto.
Flower de luce, ditto, garden.	Jerusalem cowslips, July, front.
Foolstones, March, front.	Jews ears, Dec. over.
French lavender, Dec. ditto.	St. John's wort, ditto, front.
Fumitory, ditto, ditto.	St. James's ditto, ditto, ditto.
Garlick, ditto, ditto.	Jointed grass, ditto, over.
Garvancoes, garden.	Joy, ditto, front.
Gentian, Dec. front.	Kidneywort, ditto, over.
Gilliflower, stock, ditto, garden.	King's spear, ditto, ditto.
Gladwyn, March, front.	Broom, ditto, front.
Goats-rue, Dec. all over.	Knot-grass, ditto, over.
	Ladies bed yellow, ditto, front.

Ladies

Ladies mantle, May, over.	Mint-cat, ditto, ditto.
Ditto smock, ditto, ditto.	Ditto spear, ditto, ditto.
Larkspur, Dec. ditto.	Ditto water, ditto, ditto.
Lavender, ditto, ditto.	Ditto horse, ditto, ditto.
Ditto spike, ditto, ditto.	Ditto pepper, ditto, ditto.
Ditto cotton, ditto, ditto.	Myrtle, ditto, garden.
Laurel spurge, ditto, ditto.	Ditto wild, ditto, back of the hill.
Ditto Alexandrian, ditto, ditto.	Moonwort, ditto, over.
Leek, ditto, ditto.	Moss tree, all the year, all over.
Lentils, garden.	Ditto sea, ditto, ditto.
Lemon tree, July, ditto.	Ditto ground, ditto, ditto.
Lettuce, Dec. ditto.	Ditto of a dead man's skull, ditto, ditto.
Lime tree, ditto, back.	Mother of thyme, Dec. front.
Locust tree, ditto, over.	Motherwort, ditto, over.
Loosestrife, yellow, May, back.	Mouse-ear, ditto, over.
Lovage, Dec. front.	Mugwort, all over.
Limewort, ditto, ditto.	Mulberry tree, Feb. garden.
Ditto spotted, ditto, ditto.	Mustard, Dec. over.
Lupine, ditto, garden.	Mushroom, southward and mea- dow.
Maidenhair tree, ditto, front.	Wild, ditto, garden.
Maiden English, Dec. over.	Navelwort, Dec. front.
Mallow common, ditto, ditto.	Nettle, ditto, front.
Ditto marsh, ditto, ditto.	Ditto dead, ditto, ditto.
Ditto vervain, ditto, ditto.	Ditto dead stinking, ditto, ditto.
Ditto mush, ditto, ditto.	Nightshade, ditto, ditto.
Ditto garden, ditto, front.	Ditto deadly, ditto, ditto.
Mandrake, ditto, ditto.	Ditto woody, ditto, ditto.
Marjoram, sweet, ditto, garden.	Massich, ditto, ditto.
Ditto, wild, Jan. over.	Olive tree, July, front.
Marygold, Dec. garden.	Onion, Dec. ditto.
Masterwort, ditto, front.	Opium, ditto, ditto.
Maudlin, sweet, ditto, ditto.	Orpin, ditto, ditto.
Maryweed, ditto, over.	Orange tree, July, ditto.
Melon-musk, garden.	Ox-eye, ditto, ditto.
Ditto water, ditto.	
Mill mountain, Dec. over.	

Palm,

Palm tree, July, front.	Sage, ditto, ditto.
Parley, Dec. front.	Ditto wood, ditto, ditto.
Piart, ditto, back.	Samphire, ditto, ditto.
Parfnep, ditto, garden.	Savin, ditto, front.
Ditto wild, ditto, back.	Savory, ditto, garden.
Peach tree, July, front.	Sanders; ditto, front.
Pease, Feb. garden.	Seagreen houseleek, Feb. ditto
Pellitory of the wall of Spain, over.	Shepherd's purse, Dec. over.
Pennyroyal, Dec. front.	Sloe tree, ditto, ditto.
Pepperwort, ditto, ditto.	Snake weed, ditto, ditto.
Pimento, ditto, ditto.	Solomon's seal, ditto, garden.
Pile-wort, ditto, over.	Sopewort, ditto, front.
Pine-ground, ditto, back.	Sorrel, ditto, over.
Ploughman's spikenard, ditto, front.	Ditto wood, ditto, front.
Poley mountain, ditto, over.	Southernwood, ditto, garden.
Ditto podum, ditto, ditto.	Sowthistle, ditto, over.
Pomegranate, July, front.	Spignell, ditto, ditto.
Ditto poppey, Dec. over.	Spinage, ditto, ditto.
Ditto white, ditto, ditto.	Spikenard, ditto, front.
Ditto wild, ditto, ditto.	Spurge, ditto, over.
Primrose, ditto, front.	Starwort, ditto, ditto.
Purslain, ditto, garden.	Starthistle, Feb. ditto.
Quince tree, July, front.	Swallowwort, ditto, ditto.
Radish, Dec. ditto.	Tansey, Dec. over.
Ragwort, ditto, over.	Tares, ditto, ditto.
Rocket, garden.	Thistle blessed, Feb. ditto.
Rose red, ditto.	Mary thistle, Dec. ditto.
Ditto white, ditto.	Thyme, mother of, ditto, over.
Ditto damask, ditto.	Thyme, ditto, ditto.
Rue wild, Dec. over.	Toad-flax, ditto, ditto.
Rue goats, ditto, ditto.	Tobacco, Dec. over.
Rupturewort, ditto, ditto.	Tomatos, garden.
Saffron, ditto, garden.	Tormentil, ditto, front.
Ditto bastard, ditto, front.	Thorn, ditto, ditto.
Sage of virtue, ditto, ditto.	Trefoil, common, ditto, back.
	Turnep, ditto, front.

Vine,

Vine, Feb. all over.	Wallflower, ditto, garden.
Violet, Dec. garden.	Woodbine, Dec. over.
Vipergrafs, ditto, over.	Woodroof, April, ditto.
Vervain, ditto, front.	Wormwood, Roman, ditto, front.

N. B. Those herbs marked all over the hill, do not imply that they cover the surface entirely, but only that they are to be met with on particular plats of the rock, in many places, without being confined to any one spot.

C H A P. VIII.

A FURTHER CONTINUATION OF PARTICULARS; OF FISH, SHELLS, BIRDS, VEGETATION, ETC.

THE sailors hospital is a noble, capacious, well adapted pile of building; it is a square of masonry and tiled, with an area in the center, and piazzas round it, by which the men may either enjoy the sun or shade, and are kept properly, without confinement: there are apartments for a thousand sick, with all conveniences: it is erected to the southward of the new mole, upon a plain, and walled round, in a free, salutary, airy height, greatly to the advantage of the distressed seamen; for the cool breezes off the sea render it a happy residence in summer, and its situation and compactness make it comfortable in winter. The salubrity of the air, and amazing prospects, with grotesque views of rocks, precipices, and rugged plains, with some houses, barracks, and fortifications of this part of the hill, compose a situation very agreeable: a few trees are only wanted beneath it. On the west front, at the foot of a perpendicular rock, is a plain, where a regiment encamped during the siege of one thousand seven hundred and twenty-seven, and where the governour reviews the troops, by battalion every year: before this hospital was built, there was a fabrick called Notre Dame des Remedes. At a small distance,

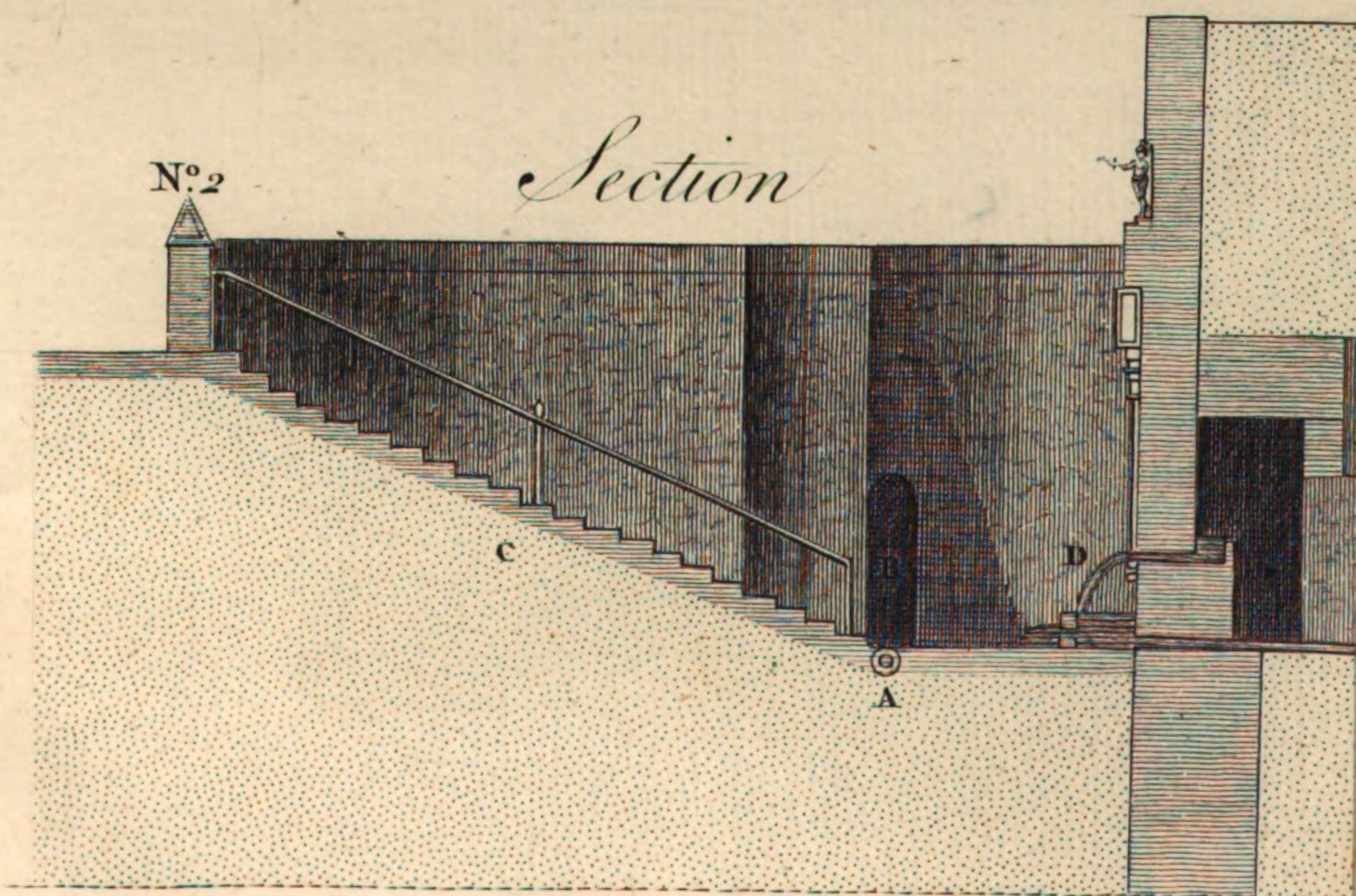
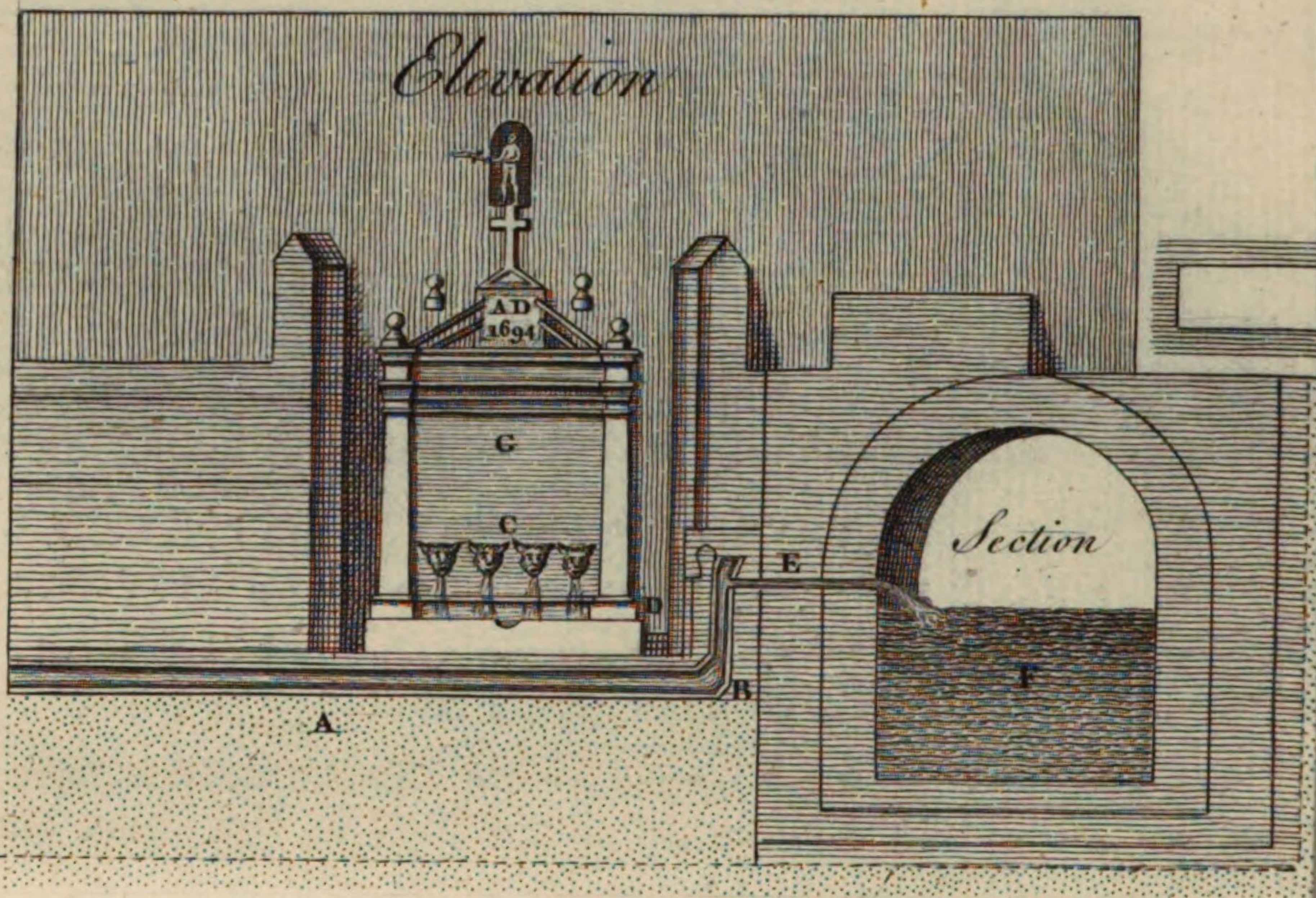
to

to the north of the above building, are the south barracks, containing a regiment, a heavy, ill contrived pile, especially the officers pavilions, who are greatly straitened for want of room; and particularly cellars or vaults. Between the hospital and barracks is a large inclosed piece of ground called the Vineyard; in it are many trees, and plenty of roots, herbs, fallads, &c. in their proper season, and is by far the pleasantest spot on the rock: it was originally a religious house, called St. Rofia. On the side of the hill leading to the north pavilion, and near the line wall, are two small houses; which spot formerly had a chapel erected on it dedicated to St. John. The remains of a Moorish well stand close to the eastward house, from which earthen pipes went down the hill aslope, through the line wall, at which place some of the Moors and Spanish gallies watered: part of the pipes are still to be seen. There are many Moorish wells dispersed through the garrison, and you may know them from the Spaniards, being made in a different form. These wells are not peculiar to Gibraltar; for I have seen them in the ruins of several Moorish towns, castles, &c. in Spain: they are generally very deep, because the Moors were fond of building on the tops of hills. There are brick arches of three, four, six stories, over one another across these walls, to keep their sides from falling in. A little to the northward from these wells, and at the foot of the road to the south barracks on the line wall, is a small, square tower, called the Milk-house guard, which fronts the deep baranca or gully. At the south side begins the rising ground to Europa; and the north side, that large bed of red sands, which joins to the glacis of South port: and before the Moors built the town of Gibraltar, ended on the esplanade Land port: for the town lies on a descent from the foot of the rock, down to the line wall, in the same manner as the red hills, though not so high; and as a further confirmation, I have seen several pits made from South port to Land port; the sand that was thrown out of them, was of the same complexion

as the former; these holes were made for sand to mix with lime for their buildings, and were afterwards filled with the rubbish of the town: these sand hills are of infinite service to the garrison, collecting in the rainy season water to supply the fortrefs all the summer. A small aqueduct may be made against the bank on the south side of the above gully, or baranca: this aqueduct is extremely well executed; it was begun by the conde de la Corfana, under the directions of a jesuit, taken from an aqueduct at Carthage: but it must be remembered, that the Moors had an aqueduct before the Spaniards, and their pipes made of earthen ware, and let in to each other, went along and within the masonry of the town line wall, from South port, as the pipes have sufficiently witnessed in several parts; particularly at Water port, which was their termination, delivering the water into a bason or reservoir. These pipes I have often seen; and at Water port their gallies were built, and their vessels rode at anchor close within the mole; and therefore this was one of the watering places for their fleet. The head of the present aqueduct begins at one hundred and seventy-five feet, to the southward of the eight, or rather ten gun battery, (as in the plan of eight hundred feet to an inch:) there are eight entrances between the head and the counterscape of South port ditch, where is another entrance; the whole is arched, but irregular, some places being but three feet, and others under, and some four feet in height; and on the side next the sand hills, openings are made of brick one foot high and four inches wide to receive the water from the bed of red sand, from whence it runs into a reservoir of two feet four inches broad, and two feet deep. When the water rises to eighteen inches high, it is received into an earthen pipe of four inches and a half diameter set in mortar and covered over with a floor of brick, except in a few places, where there have been air holes, and waste pipes towards the sea for venting and discharging a greater quantity of water than what the pipes can contain in violent and sudden rains. This part of

the aqueduct is four feet two inches broad, running to the ditch, across which ditch the water runs in earthen pipes let into one another so exact, that no water can possibly vent from the channel; it is here between two and three feet above the bottom of the ditch, set into a wall, and on the top is a vent, either to let in air, or to let out the water, should the pipes be overcharged: it enters the town through the scarp wall of the curtain at twenty feet distance from the retired flank of the south bastion, and in front of the guard, makes an elbow to the line wall of the town, on the side of which it runs to the grand parade: several entrances are between South port and the parade, and the water is conducted through earthen pipes from the above ditch to the fountain: about mid-way is a hollow earthen pillar of nine inches diameter, and three feet in height, which stands perpendicular over the horizontal pipe, which being lower than the entrance of the pipe, will of course discharge the water through the above pillar, which otherwise would burst the pipes. This subterranean gallery is two feet two inches broad at the bottom; at the top, one foot eight, and in height four feet; the crown of the arch in most places is five feet eleven inches under the surface of the earth, and the depth of water in the pipe at South port measured in the month of March, one thousand seven hundred and fifty-five, five inches and three quarters. When the water reaches the parade, it breaks itself into a channel, which is divided into four cocks, above a marble trough with the statue of St. Michael, and the date of the year when the fountain was finished, one thousand six hundred and ninety-four. You descend from the parade to the fountain one and twenty steps: the water is extremely good, and very much purified by its filtering through that immense body of sand, before it arrives to the aqueduct; it will keep for many years, and it is reported, that formerly this water was greatly valued, insomuch that several used to come to Gibraltar from the different parts of Spain on purpose to drink it for particular disorders:





orders: I have drank of it of fifteen years bottling, as clear and as pure as when it first ran in the aqueduct.

The plan, elevation, and section of the fountain.

P L A N.

- A the aqueduct that comes from the red sands.
- B the pipe in which the water rises level with the fountain.
- C the four cocks.
- D waste water running into the sea.
- E the water of the aqueduct that keeps the reservoir full.
- F the reservoir.
- G steps from the parade.

E L E V A T I O N.

- A water, as in the plan.
- B the pipe, as in the plan.
- C the cocks, as in the plan.
- D grate for the waste water, as in the plan.
- E the water to keep the reservoir full, as in the plan.
- F the reservoir.
- G the front of the fountain, with the statue of St. Michael.

S E C T I O N.

- A the aqueduct.
- B the entrance into the aqueduct, under which you may walk to South port, which is two thousand four hundred feet.
- C the steps.
- D the cocks.
- E the water running into the sea.
- F the sea.
- G the old Moorish rampart.

- H the new rampart added.
- I the flank to the town battery.
- K passage at the back of the fountain, No. 1. in the plan.
- L new line wall.
- M old Moorish line wall.
- No. 2. stone brought from Barbefula.
- No. 3. platform for cannon.

A plan and section of the aqueduct out of South port, with risings of the water in the same, after filtering through the vast bed of red sands, between the bricks No. 1. into the channel and pipes.

Third of October, 1751.

										Depth of water	
										Feet	Inches
At eight gun battery	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	5
At the rise ditto	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	9
Pipe under the covert way	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	6 $\frac{1}{4}$
Pipe under the town wall	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
Pipe at the fountain	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	1 $\frac{1}{2}$

Third of October, 1752.

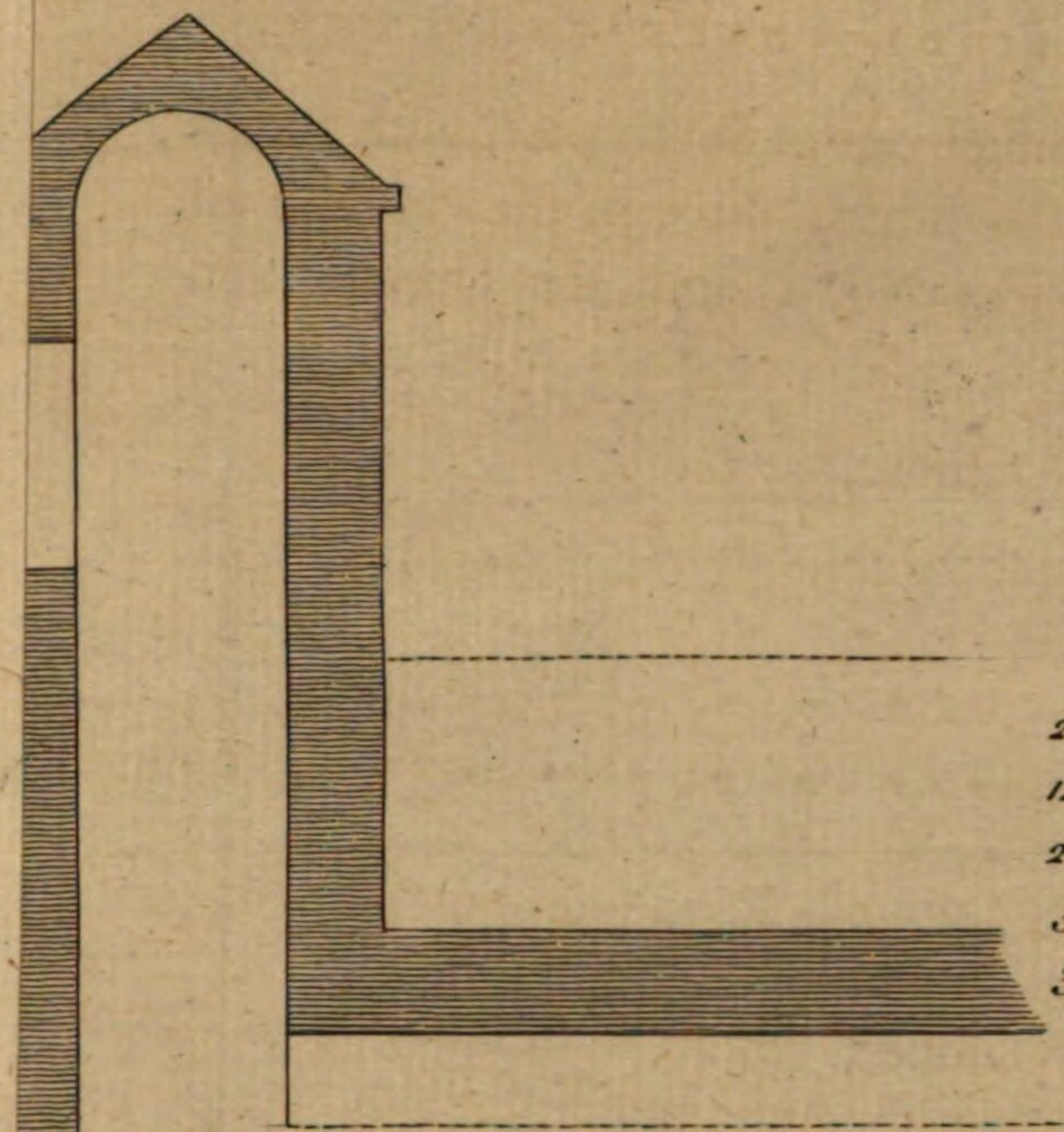
At eight gun battery	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	5
At the rise	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	9
Beginning of the pipe	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	2
Under the covert way	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	6
Under the town wall	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	1 $\frac{1}{4}$
Pipe at the fountain	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	1 $\frac{1}{4}$

Water at the eight gun battery is twenty inches, which wants only three inches to fill the waste pipe leading to the line wall, all the rest of the waste and air pipes entirely full and running over; this was after two days great rain.

Eighth of February, 1750.

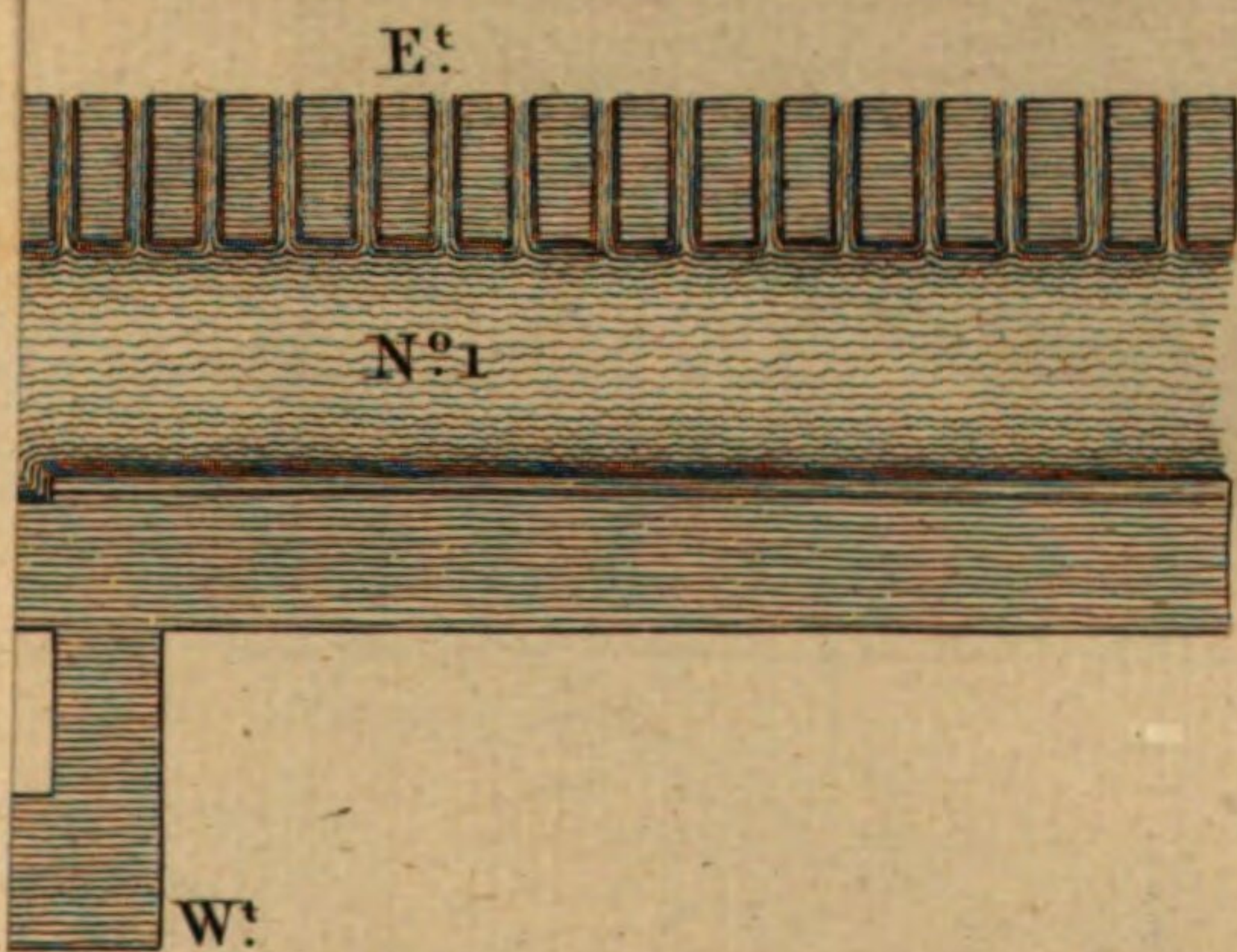
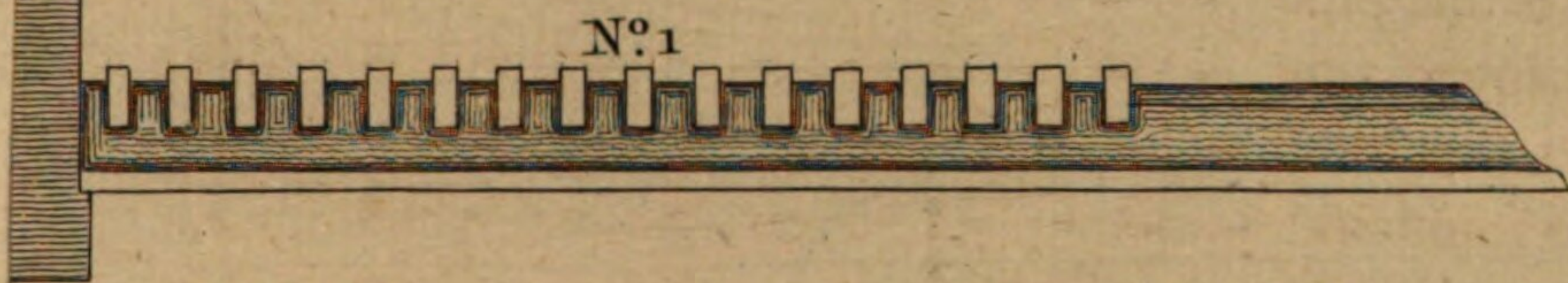
Water at the eight gun battery two feet deep, and rises sixteen inches over the west pipe, which is stoppt, and makes the water run with great violence under the counterscarp to remove a stone of eight pounds weight.

The forming of the troops on the grand parade at Gibraltar, is as follows: the three regiments quotas for duty, are first drawn up

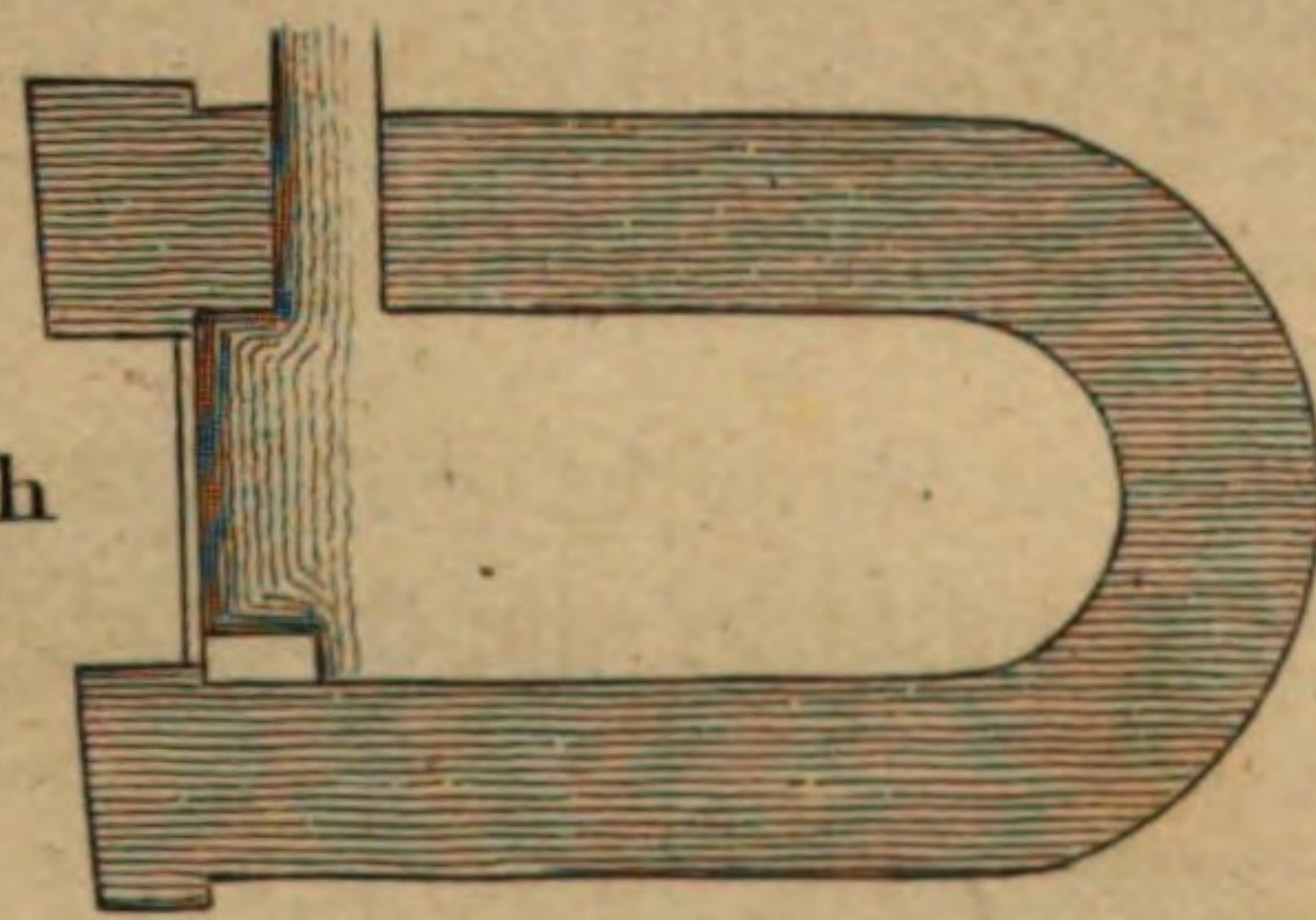


In Water

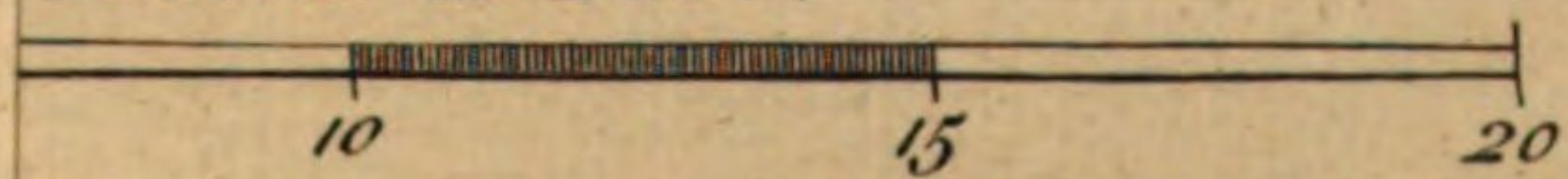
22^d Jan^y 1750 11 Inches high
 14. Octo^r 1750 9 D^o — D^o
 21. Dec^r 1750 21 D^o — D^o
 3. Oct^r 1751 17 D^o — D^o
 3. Oct^r 1752 17 D^o — D^o



South



A Scale of Feet.



T. Kitchen Sculp.

up on the top of the parade fronting the bay, ten deep in close order by companies; the oldest regiment on the left, and the youngest in the center. All the drums and fifes in garrison (not on guard) beat the troop, dividing into two bands; the one beats towards South port, the other to Water port; at their return, they join and beat to the bottom of the parade, the troops filing off as the drums beat down: then the oldest regiment from the left forms the front rank; the youngest regiment from the center files off, and covering the front rank, forms the second; and the second regiment, third or rear rank: so that each regiment forms a rank. The serjeants and corporals parade by themselves, with the artillery; being drawn up at right angles on the left of the troops on the top of the parade, as the grenadiers are at the bottom.

When the troops are formed, the town major sends the serjeants and corporals to their respective guards for that day, which guard is told off by the serjeant major of the oldest regiment; then, when the parade is completely formed, it is as in the following plan: for four battalions and two companies of artillery. One battalion takes the duty to the southward.

Magazines of powder:

There are four large ones, that contain seven thousand five hundred barrels of powder: and a vast many, containing from two barrels to fifty. The large ones, and most of the small ones, are bomb-proof; besides which there are many secure caves, and places to lodge gunpowder.

There are thirty-nine casemates for men; and several caves, and other places of security for men to repose in safety, after their tour of duty.

All the batteries are well appointed in every respect with ordnance and their appurtenances; so that they can never be taken at a non-plus.

R. E.

R E F E R E N C E S.

A the parade.	O castle guard.
B the governour's guard.	P hospital guard.
C the grand battery guard.	Q South port guard.
D the Land port guard.	R advance guard.
E the (new) town guard.	S old town guard.
F the prince's line guard.	T artillery.
G the king's line guard.	U town major and drum.
H the Water port guard.	W whipping post.
I line wall guard.	X black hole, pallisadoed before the entrance.
K Willis's guard.	Y fountain.
L middle-hill guard.	Z officers.
M signal-house guard.	
N rock guard.	

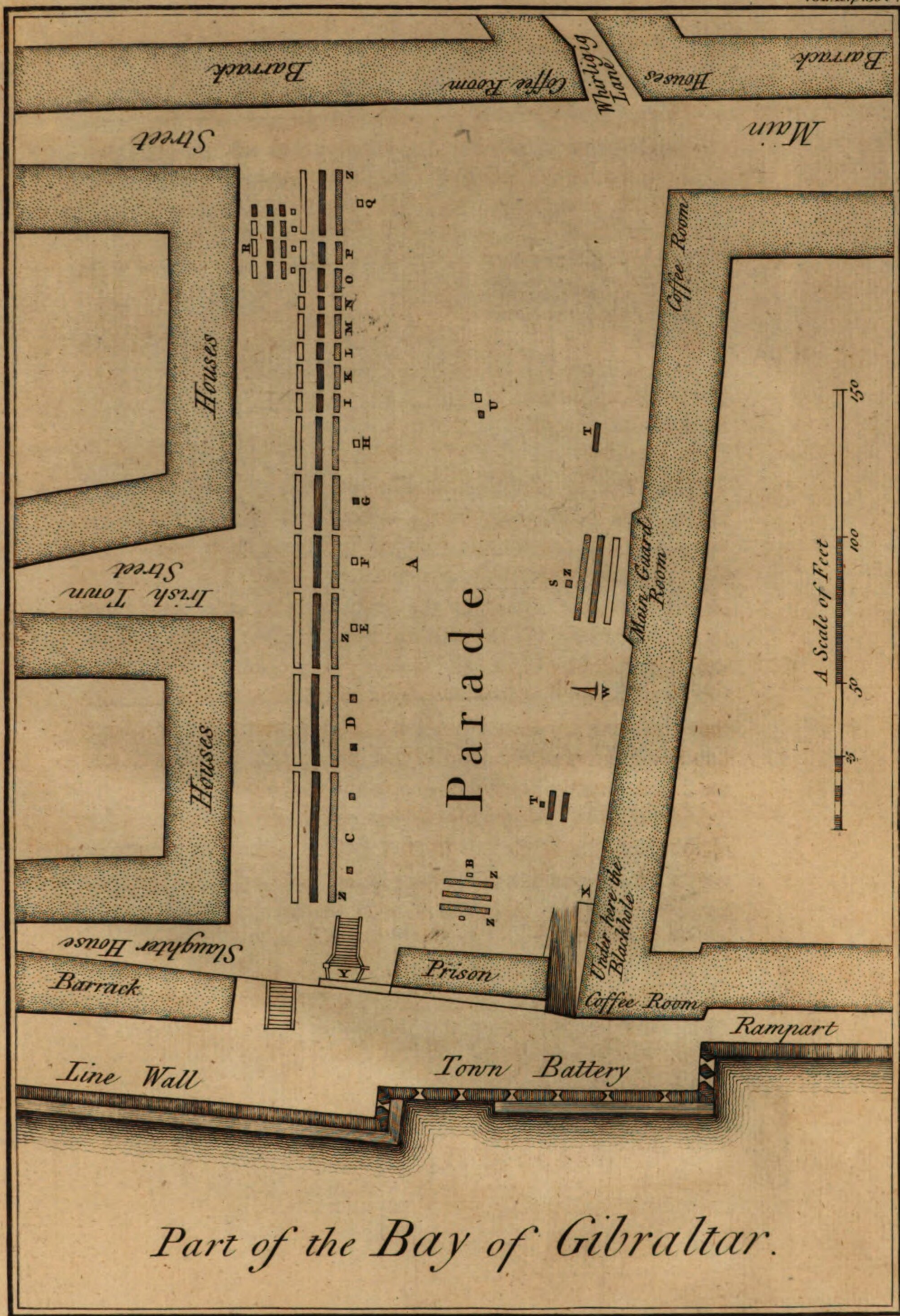
N. B. The captains for the lines and Europa join the guard half an hour before the evening gun fires, and leave it at the morning gun. The captain and youngest subaltern lie at the prince's line; and the eldest subaltern at the king's line. The picquet assembles at retreat beating on the grand parade, and marches to the grand battery. The three regiments in town mount the governours guard by turns, and always give grenadiers.

The rock and signal-house guards do not take their arms with them, as there are always garrison arms left at those two places. The field officers of the day see that the guards march off, and make their reports every morning to the governour.

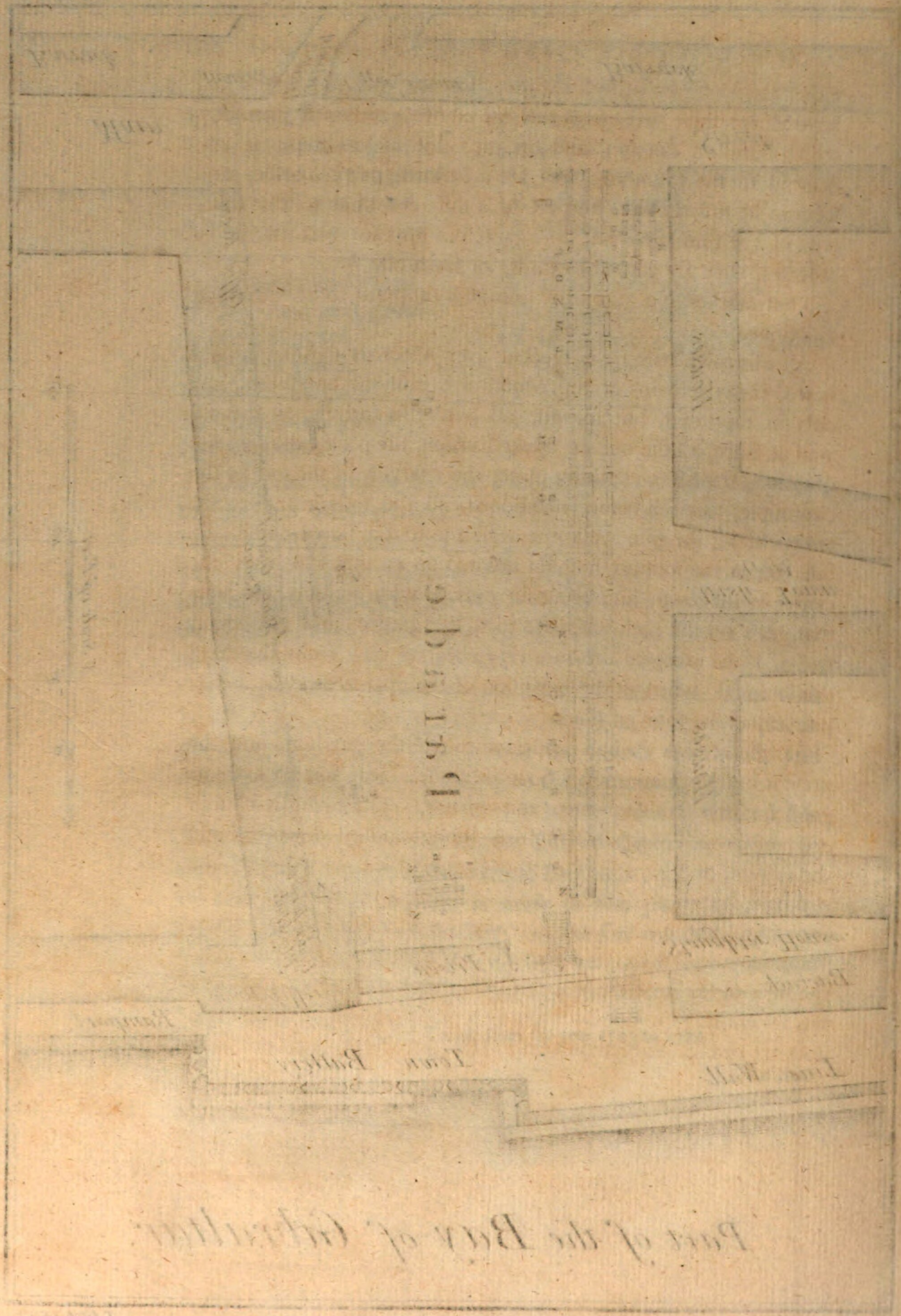
Mr. Conduit (1) acquaints us, that he saw ruins on the east side of the river Guadiaro, four leagues East of Gibraltar, which he took to be the remains of the ancient Barbesula; for in the Cadix Emporio del Orbe, mention is made of two pieces of marble, brought from thence to Gibraltar; on one side was MM BARBESVLANI. He says, that he was credibly informed they were used for the fountain on the parade, but that the letters probably were

(1) Vid. Philos. Transf. from the year 1703 to 1720.

either



Part of the Bay of Gibraltar.



either sawn off, or turned inwards, for they did not appear. I have visited these two stones that the above gentleman mentions, which stand on the top, and on each side of the steps, as you descend to the fountain; they are a bastard sparry marble, and seem to be much older, and are of a different kind to the other part of the fountain; but no characters appear: perhaps, as he observes, they are turned inwards, or sawn off.

That marked No. 2. on the section is supposed to be the stone mentioned.

All this town battery is erected over Moorish casemates, and indeed many remains of the Moors are easily to be traced, not only in the town, but likewise all over this fortress, as the old wall at Europa, the one on upper Europa, the place called the inquisition, the Moors bathing place, the reservoir in the fort by the new mole, the well before mentioned, all the square and round towers along the line wall, the wall up to the signal-house, the reservoir at the soldiers hospital situated on a rising flat, over the center of the town, and being surrounded with the only old trees that grew on the rock when we took it, (gardens and one locust tree at Rosia excepted) form a very chearful view from the bay: this hospital, when in the possession of the Spaniards, was a chapel, called St. John of God.

There are several small chapels through the garrison, and the present buildings are mostly Spanish modernized, and are extreme good quarters both for men and officers. The Spanish church originally was a Moorish structure, though pulled down to build the present one, which is in the Gothic stile: as a proof, the northern entrance is Gothic, and adjoining is the steeple and bell-fry; now, within this large gateway is a Moorish square (before you enter the church;) the center of the square is open, but round the sides of the area are Moorish pillars and arches that support a terrass entirely in the Moorish system of building: round the area are orange and lemon trees. The storekeeper and ordnance
clerks

clerks dwellings, commonly called the bomb-house, was once a fine Moorish building : I take it to have been the residence of their governours, because I have seen the same kind of structures in Spain, and never but one in that stile in each town : and that which is peculiar, is the top of the house, which is a flat oblong terrass, round it is a wall of three feet high, and on the wall are stone pillars that support a roof : these houses are much higher than any other building in the town, and command the whole : this upper apartment is at present a dwelling room, the spaces between the pillars being filled, and now has windows, and a door place. The cellars remain in their old state, one of which I take to have been the family mosque ; the inside is an oblong square, and round the center are pillars that support a handsome cupola. Round the architrave is an inscription, but so defaced that I could not make any thing of it. This house, when we took the place, was quite entire, and very large ; and the completest remains of the Moors, as a dwelling, in the town ; but the changes it has since undergone, have almost divested it of its ancient beauties ; ancient I call it, because it might have been built soon after the coming of those people in seven hundred and eleven ; and beauties, because it would have given us a clear notion of the edifices used in those early days of Mahometanism : there are some slight remains dispersed, but not worth reciting ; only this I mention, as in the former part of this work, that there are no remains of antiquity prior to the Moors ; therefore I conclude as I begun, that no town was built on this mountain by any nation, till the Moors landed under their general Tharek.

The buildings in the town are composed of four kinds of materials : the stone of the hill, the tapia, petrified sand, with a variety of the shells of the bay, and some few brick : their roofs are covered with tiles, generally speaking ; though formerly several were flat roofed and terrassed ; and the floors were made of the same terrass materials. Since the English have been in possession
of

of Gibraltar, as the terrafs wore and broke into holes, they first began to plank their upper rooms, and to lay their lower apartments with brick. Many of the upper Spanish rooms looked like barns, not being cieled. Several of the old Spanish and Moors houses remain, built on two, three, or four sides of a square court, with orange and lemon trees growing round with vines, jessamines, pomegranates, &c. These mansions are of two stories: the walls are generally bare, being plaistered and white washed, too glaring and hurtful to the eyes in this warm city: but many of the rooms have been wainscoted, papered, stained, and painted as fancy led the inhabitants: and some houses have their outsides stained blue, yellow, or black, to break the rays of the sun, which in the hot summer months is very disagreeable and troublesome, by the prodigious glare from the white walls of their buildings. On the top of some houses are mirandas, which command beautiful and extensive prospects into Spain, or Mauritania.

The town being irregular, the streets are also, and most of them narrow; but the high street is broad and tolerably paved: the town is built upon a bed of red sand, a continuation of the red sand hills out of South port, across which run those works from the south bastion, on the bay, up the slope, to the foot of the precipice under the Moors wall, which continues to the top of the rock of Gibraltar. The city standing upon a decline to the bay, carries off the rains that are discharged by apertures in the line wall; and great quantities are sucked up by the sands; however, the rains fall sometimes so heavy, and continue so long, accompanied with dreadful claps of thunder and lightning, with violent winds, that the apertures choke up, and are not sufficient to carry off the vast body of water which falls head-long from the mountain, and rolls down the streets of the city till repelled by the broad ramparts of the place. The merchants, by these sudden torrents, have suffered greatly in their warehouses, particularly in that part of the garrison called Irish town, where the waters have

been up to their second story. I confine myself to the time I left that command in one thousand seven hundred and fifty-five, and therefore mention not what has happened since, which has done a great deal of harm.

As I have mentioned the petrification of sand, so as to build houses; I shall here observe, that near the Spanish lines, as you go to Rocabillo, where Carteia once stood, the waves are so great, that the sand thrown up by the sea in high winds, almost immediately petrify: as a proof, the lumps of consolidated sand are full of all the various kinds of small shells, whole, and fragments of others, of the bay, flung up with the sand by the wave in these stormy and tempestuous seasons; and the house which was my quarters, where I lived for five years, and which was once a chapel of ease, had its whole front of two stories, built of this petrified sand, charged with variety of shells, that took a polish, and as the house was a religious one, the door and the window over it were ornamented with mouldings, &c. with an inscription above the center of the window. This mansion is opposite the bomb-house, where the storekeeper to the board of ordnance is quartered, which has a good garden walled in, and joins to the rampart of the line wall.

I shall present my reader with the following catalogues:

A catalogue of sea shell fish, in the bay of Gibraltar, as fell within my observation:

S I M P L E S H E L L S,

which are those, consisting only of one single shell, and have no hinge.

1. Patella. The striated limpit; the starry limpit; the beaked limpit: besides these, there are several of the patellas, some of which are very beautiful.

2. Haliotis. The great ear shell; the long ear shell.

3. Den-

3. Dentalium. The striated tooth shell.
4. Nautilus. The paper Nautilus.
5. Cochleæ, Snails. The echimated cochlea; the wide-mouthed snail; the toothed nerite snail; the cornu ammonis snail; the rough trochus; the mitre shell; the tower of Babel shell; the rough-mouthed buccinum; the needles shell; the vice admiral; the admiral; the tyger shell.
6. Murices. The spider shell, and some others of the murex.
7. Purpura. The thorney woodcock shell; the common woodcock shell; the caltrop shell; and some others of the purpura.
8. Dolium. The mulberry shell; the white-mouthed yellow dolium; the thin gondola shell.
9. Porcellana. The boat porcellana; the black ribbed porcellana; the beetle porcellana; the pointed-headed porcellana, and some others: bivalves, or such which have the external covering or shell composed of two parts or valves.
10. Ostreæ. Large rock oysters; the great prickly oyster.
11. Chama. The Arabian shell; the old woman shell, or wrinkled chama; the zigzag chama.
12. Mitulus. The coated muscle; the pinna marina, and others of the mituli.
13. Cardia. The ox heart cockle; the Noah's ark heart shell; the rough ox heart shell, and some others of the cardia.
14. Pecten. The red and white scallop; the coral scallop; the yellow scallop; the ducal mantle scallop; the thin scallop; and others of the pectines.
15. Solenes. The thick razor shell; the blueish crooked razor shell.

M U L T I V A L V E S,

such as have the outer covering or shell composed of more than two pieces of valves.

Balanus. The narrow-mouthed grey balanus; the great wide-mouthed balanus.

Polliceps. The blueish polliceps; the goose shell.

Centroniæ. The common round sea egg; the blue roundish sea egg; the high backed sea egg; the sea apple, and some others.

Stella marina arboresceris. White coral.

F I S H.

The needle fish; the hippocampus, or sea horse; the bream, black and red; the anchovy, Sardinia; the sea trout, gar fish; the smelt, plaise, flounder, turbot, foal, dab, skaite, hake, dolphin, rock cod, rock fish; the eel; the conger eel; the flat-tailed sea serpent; the spotted sea serpent; lamprey; the mackarel; the thynnus, or tunny; the facurus, or horse; the mullet; the ranger; the wrasse, or old wife; sea bream; the red gurnard, the grey gurnard; miller's thumb; the father, or John Doree; the blue shark; the white shark; lamprey eel; the thornback; molly; acus, or sea pike; tambour; the bugar, porpos, grampus, cray fish, lobster, crab, sea spider, prawn, shrimp; the hermit crab; salmoneta; galena de la mer.

Of sea spiders: there are several of the arena, and some worms, the leach.

Of the insects *gymnartria*: there are several sorts which have soft and naked bodies, furnished with limbs: here are snails; the medusas; the actinia; the five fingered star fish; the asterias; and the cuttle fish.

Several of the winged insects, as flies, beetles, locusts, &c. with the mole cricket: with the libellulæ, cicada, phryganea, butterflies, moths, bees, fleas, bugs, musketos, &c.

Here are some horses from Spain, and a few mules and asses, but not of the largest size, brought from Asturias, and sold at an annual fair in Ronda: this famous breed is highly prized at South America, and brings a price of thirty and forty pistoles an ass. Cows and herds of goats, the flesh of the kids are greatly esteemed; and no wonder, when we consider their browse, as in the catalogue.

logue. The hill was always famous for kid; bullock and sheep from Barbary. The Moors squeeze the testicles of the young bulls, swine, rabbits, foxes, apes, cats, dogs.

The scorpion abides among the rocks, both white and black: the common green lizard, the skink, or scincus, they hide under flat stones, or in the holes of old walls and ruins; these were the salamanders of the Ancients.

In one thousand seven hundred and fifty-three, a southerly wind brought over from Africa an immense swarm of large locusts, with brown spotted wings, red legs, and bodies of a bright yellow; but being intercepted by a shower, the wind varying to the east, most of them were beat into the sea, and it was astonishing to see the drowned heaps along the Mediterranean shore, from the Devil's tower to the Spanish lines. This swarm, had they pitched at night in the garrison, would have devoured all the vegetation in the gardens.

At another time there was such another swarm of butterflies.

The centipedes and quadrantipedes are plenty, with a large hairy spider, which some say is the tarantula, and together with the grilia talpa, are inhabitants of the south bastion.

Many eagles and vultures annually visit this hill from Africa: the towering situation inviting them to rest after their wearied flight; and I have known the vulture so exhausted as just to reach Europa, and being unable to rise, have been taken by the soldiers after a stout resistance: they generally light upon the summit of Calpe, in a long line from whence they take their departure to Spain, feeding upon the carrion in that almost desolate large country: for I have met them in numbers in the solitudes of Spain, feeding upon dead carcases. The eagle breeds in the craggy rock of Gibraltar, inaccessible to men, or the apes, which are many, but too difficult to get at. Abyla in Africa has plenty of these creatures, but I could never hear they were to be found on any of the mountains in Spain: I suppose they were originally brought over by the

the Moors, and making their escape, increased upon this hill of Gibraltar.

There are several kinds of hawks that visit, and build upon, the hill. There are also the small owl, swallows, martins, and swifts.

The red legged partridges are in coveys, but the getting at them is attended with much difficulty: there is a dark grey bird, like the English black bird, with the lark, sparrow, green and red linnet, chamarese, which, with the canary, makes an excellent cross breed. There is the goldfinch, wheat ear, yellow hammer, now and then the woodcock, and the snipe, wild duck, teal, widgeon, sand lark, bat, particularly in St. Michael's cave, which swarms with them. There are geese, tame ducks, turkeys, cocks and hens. There are cormorants, loons, gulls of various sorts: the becca higa, and three sorts of wood-peckers: there is the crow and daw.

There are several small sandy bays indenting in the rock, both on the east and west sides of this peninsula: the sand is of a whitish colour, very fine, and copiously mixed with sea shells. The rocks on the sides of these bays are full of caves; in them breed the wild pigeon. Perhaps there is not better lime in the world than what is made from these rocks, which is blown on purpose all over the hill, where the works may be carried on, either for buildings or fortification: it is of a blueish grey colour, and very hard. The marble, with small blue veins, runs in diagonal strata through several parts of this hard stone, but they are very thin: yet there are some handsome variegated marbles, with red, white, blue, and grey veins mixed, large enough for fire hearths. The rocks at the foot of the line wall on the bay shore, from the ragged staff towards the new mole, are of vast masses of slate rock: they shoot in diagonal fissures through the horizon.

With regard to the climate, the garrison certainly breathes a pure air almost the year round: but it is too thin and subtle to agree with consumptive people; but to such, whose constitutions are

are found, and unimpaired by hereditary or acquired distempers, (for which latter they are to blame themselves, and not the place) there are few better climates in the world: it is true the summers are very warm in the months of June, July, August, and part of September, and the heats very oppressive; but then they have the most serene sky over their head that can be imagined; and so again in winter, after those heavy rains, high winds, and tremendous thunders and lightnings. In winter the cold is not of so freezing a nature as in the neighbouring mountains of Spain, nor does it numb the extremities in the same manner; yet it is of a piercing and subtle kind. Fires in winter are absolutely necessary, nor can you well do without them; and the fuel is coal from Great Britain, which you get as cheap as in the Pool at London. Before an easterly wind comes on, those who are troubled with rheumatics, or have had broken limbs, can feel the approach for some hours before the Levanter has reached the hill; it is generally violent, and attended with a heavy condensed atmosphere, so as to hide the face of the sun entirely: by this condensation, phlegmatic constitutions are affected by it, as are also those who drink hard: notwithstanding this, the place is very healthy, and more people have died by their irregularity and inattention than by the climate. From oral tradition it was the montpelier of Andalusia; and setting aside the Levant winds, I can say of Gibraltar what Lucan said of it, so many ages ago: "Thick clouds do not even collect themselves from the north or south into that part of Spain, where Calpe, a promontory of Bœtica, and one of the columns of Hercules, is situated."

And so I may say of the westerly wind, in the words of Homer, when treating of the Elysian fields, where stern winters smile, nor flakes the fleecy snow:

"But from the breezy deep the blest inhale

"The fragrant murmurs of a western gale."

The

The wind from west and north-west is invigorating and refreshing; but the Levanters are raw, damp, and chilly, and come on with an impenetrable thickness, and strong gales; but these condensed mists are blown off by the same continuation of an easterly wind, particularly if it inclines to the northward of the east, which it generally does: the sky then becomes clear, the heavy clouds are dissipated, the sun shines bright, and all distant objects are elevated and brought nearer to your sight; so that Algezira seems to be advanced into the middle of the bay, and Africa with vessels at anchor off Ceuta, are very much raised, and seem to be come forward into the middle of the Herculean Straits.

If a fleet should be near the Straits when a Levanter first springs up, there is a great chance but it passes Calpe undiscovered, as it is almost impossible to see through the mist of these easterly winds at their first prevailing against the western breeze. Many a single ship has baffled the vigilance of our people, and whole fleets have gone through the Straits in the night under cover of the Levant clouds, which drop like a curtain before them as they sail along. Even cruizers in the gut must give way to the blast, and be hurried through to the Atlantic ocean, or return into Gibraltar bay.

Sometimes the south-west winds are attended with thick rainy weather: the Spaniards at Cadiz, waiting the opportunity, have taken the advantage to push through in the night, to join a Mediterranean squadron: for in one thousand seven hundred and forty-three, as admiral Haddock, with twelve ships of the line, was at anchor in the bay of Gibraltar, the Spanish fleet passed the Straits in the night, and was joined by the French squadron from Toulon. The British admiral, sailing from Gibraltar, fell in with them in a few days, and found both squadrons drawn up in a line of battle: as he bore down upon the Spanish fleet, the French admiral sent a flag of truce to inform him, that as the French and Spaniards were engaged in a joint expedition, he should be obliged to act in concert with his master's allies. This interposition prevented

vented an engagement; the combined fleets amounted to double the number of the English squadron.

Similar cases have since happened from the Levant into the Atlantic, while our fleet has been at anchor in the bay of Gibraltar.

Vultures, in their annual flight from Africa into Spain, are distinctly seen resting upon the summit of this remarkable mountain, in a clear day, and the wind at west; but within less than a quarter of an hour, the wind changing to the east, the hill is quite involved in a cloud:

“That in thick showers her rocky summit shrouds,
“And darkens all the broken view with clouds (2).”

Snow falls but very seldom, and when it does, it is so trifling, as hardly to be observed; but the hail often rattles down, being driven by prodigious gusts of wind. Ice is a rarity, yet upon the hill and very early in the morning it has been seen the thickness of half a crown. The Granada mountains, which are in view, have the snow lying on them for three months together; and there are some deep cavities in those high mountains, where the snows have remained for seven years, without being entirely melted: and indeed the waters of one of the two rivers which gliding by that once majestic city, the Illiberis of the Romans, are the tribute of the Granadian snows. Those branches of the Orespeda, which shoot to Tarifa, as if they once intended to have crossed the Straits, have, in some winters, snow upon them for fourteen or fifteen days together; and the very lofty Abila in Africa detains the snows for many days. The winds passing over the snowy hills of Spain, are very acceptable to the inhabitants of Gibraltar.

Some remarkable days in summer have been so very hot and close, and the depresseure of the atmosphere has been so great, that

(2) Keyfler's Travels, Vol. I. Savoy, p. 237.

the inhabitants could hardly breathe: one remarkable night in one thousand seven hundred and fifty-two, when each neighbour enquired of the other, whether their house was not on fire, the heat was so great, attended with a sulphureous smell, that the birds forsook their nests and roosts, and flew into the windows of several peoples houses.

In one thousand seven hundred and fifty-three, the evening being very sultry and close, a clear sky and the stars shining in unusual brightness, there was plainly seen by most people of the garrison, what is called a ball of fire: it came from the west, and shot to the eastward; its swiftness was prodigious: the light of this ball was of a whitish colour mixed with that blue, which spirits of wine, set on fire, throws out: by it, the atmosphere was enlightened in such a sudden and strong manner, that several people were apprehensive of a sudden and approaching period by fire; and in this concern they stood motionless: this fire was also so penetrating and sensible, that it was the opinion of several to exceed lightning itself: as it approached from the west, we concluded it would strike against the middle of the rock, under the signal-house, and therefore, as it shot over our heads, we dreaded the consequence: however, the serjeant's guard at the signal-house affirmed it went over them at a great height; and after it had shot up the Mediterranean, it expanded itself into shivers of fire: the loud report we heard upon the parade in the town, where were several officers and others enjoying the evening upon the green benches: immediately after the great explosion from that vivid light, that a pin could be seen in the streets, we were, for upwards of a minute, left in so total a darkness, that no person could venture to advance; but, as if fear had seized them, call out to each other whom they had seen just before at their sides: from the first appearance of the fire ball to its explosion, was about a minute and a half.

The best anchorage in the bay, and the rules to sail in and out of the Straits, are in the former part of these sheets: I shall only here observe, that when all Europe are at peace with each other, yet the Straits of Gibraltar have combatants floating upon her waters; these are the corsairs of Barbary and Algiers, who are always at war with some Christian power: the orders at Gibraltar were to protect whoever got first within fire of the guns at Europa, or any other part of the hill, if they required it, by firing upon the adverse party. I have seen several engagements in the gut. Both Dutch and Danish squadrons who are sent into the Mediterranean, to protect their trade, rendezvous in Gibraltar bay, as the best station to preserve the commerce of the country they belong to, from falling into the hands of these piratical states. Gibraltar and Minorca are great thorns in the sides of these corsairs; and whoever keeps those places, will, as they have ever been since the English got possession of those important fortresses, be revered and esteemed by all the states of Barbary.

All ships coming into the bay of Gibraltar shew their colours; if they are not displayed, a shot is fired before the head of the vessel; if she then takes no notice, the second is fired astern, and if she still persists, the third shot is fired at her, and continued till the colours are hoisted: as soon as she comes to anchor, or sometimes before, the pratic boat boards her, and demands a clean bill of health, otherwise they are not admitted to break bulk, or to go on shore for water or other refreshments or necessities: they are also obliged to pay for the shots fired at them: the pratic house, I have observed, is at Water port.

Ever since we have been in possession of Gibraltar, the Spaniards have kept a vigilant eye to prevent the illegal custom of smuggling; the practice of which has at sundry times given them a pretence to shut up the communication between the garrison and the country, I wish they had no cause; for it is the same

thing whether prohibited goods go through Land port or Water port, if vessels are illegally freighted with false passes.

C H A P. IX.

SOME CURIOUS ANECDOTES; DESCRIPTION OF THE SPANISH LINES.

THE making Gibraltar a free port, was a noble step for the future happiness of the garrison, had it been properly managed and observed: but alas! this comfort was too transitory, and the poor inhabitants and others groaned under the severe decrees of arbitrary power! if we may rely on the testimony of the old remains who relate almost innumerable and incredible stories of those extraordinary and unparalleled times of British government, and the corroborating magazines, manuscripts, with the ironical pamphlet, entitled, "Reasons for giving up Gibraltar:" in which are relations of the most astonishing proceedings and oppressions, as were perhaps ever heard of in a British garrison: as these accounts are fraught with very disagreeable subjects, I shall wave them, and confine myself to one head, the free market.

When ——— took the reins of government, his first step was to destroy a free market, and to establish contractors, who made two thirds clear profit, and of course the contract was proportionable: the next step was a dollar per butt on wine; and to make it sell the better, beer, the produce of our isle, was prohibited. This was however the least part of the profit of this article, for the retailers paid much more for leave to sell it. No one to sell or kill cattle but the contractors; no gentleman to keep his milch cow or goat on the hill; and officers were obliged to ask leave to shoot on the rock, notwithstanding it was actually stocked by them every year. No provisions admitted within the gates, but with special licence. Part of the tenth article of the treaty

treaty of Utrecht (already mentioned) was broken by permitting Moors and Jews to reside in the garrison. A profit was made of every individual, as goats, swine, gardens, houses, &c. &c. nay, the fish market was monopolized, as well as flesh, not allowing any one to catch fish, notwithstanding the bay abounds with great variety and plenty. Matchless are the arbitrary proceedings, and too many to insert; but for a fuller account, I refer to the pamphlet. Amongst other witty inventions (says the above pamphlet) to get money, the church wanted to be repaired, and that a key was necessary to land goods at the water side; for the latter, subscriptions were raised among the inhabitants; and for the former a dollar per butt extraordinary was laid on wine: to repair the church, one half of it was pulled down, and, with the materials, storehouses were built on the esplanade, which were sold to the inhabitants: the sum that was to repair what was pulled down, was pocketed; and to save expence, all soldiers who swore, and were caught in the fact, were obliged to work one or more days.

An anonymous writer, in the gentleman's magazine for March one thousand seven hundred and fifty-seven, acquaints us, that when he was at Gibraltar, the g——'s will was the sole law, by which he governed; and how bad a law that was, I could (says he) bring many instances to prove; but the following will suffice: all communication with Gibraltar is prohibited by the Spaniards on pain of death; however, a secret trade is carried on, and the garrison might easily be supplied with fruits, greens, and fresh provisions from thence, as well as from Barbary and Portugal, at a very moderate rate; but (continues this gentleman) the g——r will permit but one butcher in the garrison, who, for his licence and monopoly, furnishes the g——r's table: hence the importation of all live cattle, nay even a quarter of mutton is prohibited to the officers themselves, without leave first obtained from his e——y, which, with regard to live cattle, is scarce ever granted to any but the butcher; and even a quarter of Eng-

lish

lish mutton, though designed as a present to an officer, to whom it is more acceptable than a haunch of the finest venison would be in England, has been frequently stopped, unless a joint was given to the g——r. Nay, if, by great favour, he had given leave to any officers of the garrison to keep a cow, a goat, or a sow, he would then forbid them to kill any thing without first obtaining his permission for it; and threatened to break an officer, and the chaplain of the garrison for disobedience, because each of them had killed a sucking pig, without his knowledge or consent: so that through the avarice or neglect of the butcher, mutton has been so scarce, that what our servants would not eat in England, sold for a pistole a quarter, and once for a moidore. Thus this gentleman; and of this I am very certain, that before the happy commencement of a free market, all inferiour officers suffered greatly for want of fresh provisions; for I, with others, have been twelve or fourteen days without tasting either beef, veal, mutton, or lamb; and when it was our fortune to have any from the butchery, they were the refuse pieces, and so bad, that they could hardly be eaten: this was owing to not having a free market. Here we see a garrison yielded to the crown of Great Britain by the tenth article of the treaty of Utrecht, and doubly made a free port, by her gracious majesty queen Anne's express orders: and to what effect? not to any; for though the captains and subalterns ventured to present a memorial to —, that he would be pleased to allow provisions to be brought from Barbary, yet the officers of his own regiment would not, or what is more likely, durst not join in the memorial: to such a height had arbitrary power reared its head, and as much debased was smiling liberty, by an uninterrupted series of subordination. The memorial being presented, the governour answered that it was mutiny, and was in doubt whether or not to put them under arrest; but on cool reflection, prudently declined it: however, the affair being known in England, new articles of war were sent over, and a free market expressly

preſſly directed. It was ſome months before the new articles arrived at Gibraltar in the Enterprize ſloop of war from Faro: theſe articles made not their appearance for two days; and on the fixteenth of July the town major gave copies of ſome of them in writing, to be read to the ſeveral regiments, which was accordingly done, and among them was the following article:

Article XI. ſection XIV.

“ No officer or ſoldier ſhall do violence to any perſon who brings
“ proviſions or other neceſſaries to the camp, garrifon, or quar-
“ ters of our forces employed in foreign parts, on pain of death.”

It is not to be expreſſed the general ſatiſfaction and joy that was felt on this occaſion. On the firſt of Auguſt arrived his majeſty's ſhip the Experiment, and brought to ſome of the field officers the long wiſhed for articles, which were immediately handed about, amongſt which appeared the following ones, which were not made public before, viz.

“ All officers, ſoldiers, and ſuttlers, ſhall have full liberty to
“ bring into any of our forts or garrifons any quantity or ſpecies
“ of proviſions eatable or drinkable. All governours, lieutenant
“ governours, and officers commanding in our forts, barracks,
“ or garrifons, are hereby required to ſee that the perſons per-
“ mitted to ſuttle, ſhall ſupply the ſoldiers with good and whole-
“ ſome proviſions at the market price, as they ſhall be answerable
“ to us for their neglect.

“ No governour or officers commanding in any of our garri-
“ ſons, forts, or barracks, ſhall either themſelves exact exorbitant
“ prices for houſes or ſtalls let out to ſuttlers, or ſhall connive at
“ the like exaction in others; nor by their own authority, or for
“ any private advantage, ſhall they lay any duty or impoſition
“ upon, nor be intereſted in the ſale of ſuch victuals, liquors, or
“ other neceſſaries of life, which are brought into the garrifon,
“ fort,

“fort, or barrack, for the use of the soldiers, on the penalty of
“being discharged from our service.”

It was imagined and expected that the foregoing articles would be strictly put in execution, and that a free and uninterrupted admittance would be given to all manner of provisions, eatables or drinkables, and that liberty, according to the articles, would be granted to every individual; but to the disappointment of the garrison, these articles were of no effect: for at this time arrived a vessel from Tetuan, who brought over a few sheep to a Jew; some little detention was made in regard to her having pratic: in the mean while, such means were used with the Jew, that he was obliged to sell them to the same butcher, which made no difference in the price. A short time afterwards arrived one of our little trading vessels from Tangier, and in the same manner brought a few sheep more, three of which belonged to the master, and the rest to another Jew in Gibraltar; the former were immediately seized on by the butchery, and brought ashore for their use, and the latter were kept in the boat, till matters were settled with the poor Jew, and at last went the same way: immediately after arrived another of our vessels from Tetuan, under the convoy of the Spence sloop of war, captain Donkly, who brought a quantity of sheep for the butchery, and was immediately admitted without the least difficulty. At the same time captain Donkly wanted to land at South port a few sheep for his own use, and was hindered by the officer in pursuance of the orders given that day; but on captain Donkly's applying to the governor, there was an orderly serjeant sent to the officer to let the sheep come into the town.

I shall now proceed to give a copy of the different orders which were issued out since the arrival of the new articles; but it will be necessary, that the reader may clearly understand the whole, just to recapitulate the time of the articles arriving, publishing, &c.

The articles came to the governour the fourteenth of July.

Only part of them were read the sixteenth.

Some of the field officers received the articles, which were handed about the garrison the first of August.

On the fourteenth of August the following orders were published:

“ All officers and soldiers are strictly to observe and adhere to
“ the new articles of war, and punctually to act in all points of
“ duty, as they direct; and whoever shall act contrary to, or
“ transgress any of those articles, shall be tried and punished for
“ the same, according to the said articles of war.”

On the fifth of August came out the following order, which was thought by many very extraordinary, and relates to merchants and others; I shall give it from one of the order books; but I must premise that two or three days afterwards, that part of it which concerned the inhabitants, &c. was stuck up on the parade, as it was said, that the civil people had nothing to do with orders given to the soldiery:

“ Notwithstanding several orders have been given against sol-
“ diers portering, carrying burdens, or being employed in any
“ laborious work for any person whatever (the king's work ex-
“ cepted) several people take upon them to employ soldiers in such
“ work, to the apparent detriment of his majesty's service: the
“ governour orders, that whatever soldier shall be seen acting as
“ above related, shall be immediately confined and tried for diso-
“ bedience of orders. And whatever inhabitant, merchant, or
“ others, shall employ any soldier to carry any kind of burden,
“ or any manner of dirty work for them, shall be deemed seducers
“ and encouragers of the soldiers to act contrary, and in defiance
“ of the duty and obedience they owe his majesty, and to the or-
“ ders given by those appointed by his majesty to govern and com-
“ mand here, and consequently not fit to be suffered to reside un-
“ der the protection of a government, to the rules of which they

“ will not conform. And whereas officers or others employed as
 “ overseers, or otherwise in the king’s works, shall employ or suf-
 “ fer any soldier in the works, and other artificers, labourers, or
 “ ryal men, to carry any burden or bundle for him, or work any
 “ other works than what he is directed by the engineer, in what
 “ is called the king’s works, shall be tried for disobedience of or-
 “ ders; and the centinels of the new mole, South port, Water
 “ port, and all other centinels, are to secure all soldiers carrying
 “ any burdens or bundles which shall come near their post; and
 “ whatever serjeant or corporal on guard, or off, who shall see
 “ any soldiers portering or carrying burdens, and does not secure
 “ him, shall be confined and tried for neglect of duty, except such
 “ as is before excepted.”

But to proceed; on the ninth of August came out this order:

“ All officers and soldiers who may have any provisions come
 “ to them at any time, for their own use, on acquainting the go-
 “ vernour with it, may have permits to land and bring into town
 “ what is for them; but nothing is to be suffered to land till the
 “ governour is acquainted, and permits or orders are sent; and
 “ all officers commanding guards where any boats or vessels come,
 “ are to observe the orders they have in their guard rooms, and
 “ strictly to obey them.”

Here you see an order which is a direct contradiction to that of the fourth of August. In the first they are strictly ordered to adhere to and observe the new articles of war; and in this they are ordered not to suffer any thing to land, without a permit or order, and to observe the order they have in their guard rooms: which orders are those that were in the guard rooms before the new articles of war, and which strictly enjoins that no provisions or goods of any kind whatever shall be landed without a permit from the g——r.

Upon

Upon the whole, you may observe that the new articles of war were of little or no service in that garrison: it is also observable, that by the order of the fifth of August, no soldier is allowed to work on any account; and this order will appear (to any one who is not made acquainted with the secret intention of it) to be designed chiefly to keep them clean and orderly, which would have been very laudable: but the truth of the matter is, the porters had not been able to pay the unreasonable taxes imposed, and the Genoese porters absolutely refused paying, as it was so heavy they could not live: upon which refusal, they were imprisoned and turned out of town; and the Jews, who were most used to such kind of Barbary taxations, submitted, rather than to be sent away to a country whose maxims and government were so well copied: and so apprehensive was the g——r that arms and ammunition might be secreted in the garrison, in the bellies of live cattle, and crops of fowls, that he would not allow of either coming ashore, without a permit, which was oftener refused than granted.

On Monday the twenty-seventh of August, one thousand seven hundred and forty-four, captain Crookshanks brought over six dozen of fowls and six sheep for Mr. Holroyde and captains William Kerr and Scot: captain Kerr was obliged to write to the f——y to desire the g——'s permit to bring in two dozen of fowls: it was granted. Captain Scot sent the next day for one for the remainder, which was also granted. These were the first consented to be let on shore since the communication had been shut. It is believed he did not care to refuse them after the affair which had happened concerning the request made by the regiments, of opening the communication, which occasioned the aforesaid articles.

September the fifth, a baker having bought six bags of flour at a dearer rate than had yet been sold, and of course was obliged to make his loaves lighter, for which presumption he was turned out at Water port, but thirty dollars brought him back again.

Lieutenant Windas was put under arrest, for refusing to deliver up the permits he had received, when he last had Water port guard: he said that there having been great quantities of provisions, &c. landed from a settee from Barbary, he kept those permits as his vouchers. July the nineteenth came in a xebeck and a sloop from Tetuan, where they had been ordered by captain C——s with ten head of cattle for the sailor's hospital. The g——r would not give the sloop pratic, nor suffer the cattle on shore. By a letter from Mr. Pettigrew at Tetuan to Mr. Holroyde, he informed him, that by this occasion there was sent a letter from the governor of Tangier to G. H——e to inform him of the great dislike that he and the governor of Tetuan had to his proceedings, in regard to his keeping the communication shut, without any just reason; that if by return of the next vessels to those places, he did not think fit to open the communication with them; both himself and the governor of Tetuan were resolved to acquaint the king their master with the great flight shewn that part of the country, by the g——r of Gibraltar. Mr. Pettigrew said likewise, that he had wrote to the g——r in as strong a manner as possible, and informed him that Muley Abdallah was greatly disobliged with the manifest flights of our nation to him, since he had been in possession of the throne; as well by the non-payment of what was owing him, as not answering his letter to the king, and the behaviour of the garrison of Gibraltar: he likewise assured the g——r that the king had absolutely given orders to fit out some vessels with all expedition to cruize against the English; and that in a very short time they would be ready: this the governor of Tangier assured the consul (as a friend) would be put in execution. The governor also wrote to captain Crookshanks, that it was with the utmost difficulty that he got ten head of cattle to go out of the country for him, the people being very nigh rising: and to acquaint him, that they must be the last he could expect, unless the communication was by the return of the next vessel freely opened,

opened, and that if it was not, every ship of war, or others, would by them be treated as enemies.

Wednesday, June the 16th, one thousand seven hundred and forty-four, two hundred sequins per annum for a licence for distilling brandy, given to a Jew.

May the eighteenth, Mr. C——h having Land port guard, received an order by the town major's serjeant, not to suffer any meat or fowls to come into the town from any of the men of war, or other vessels; but not taking that message as a sufficient order, he did not stop any meat that offered.

Thursday the twenty-fourth, an order was left with the officers of South port and the new mole guards, not to suffer any parcel, bundle, box, or chest, to go into the town, without a permit, though it should be for any officer of the garrison.

In April one thousand seven hundred and forty-two, a quarter of mutton, not exceeding seven pounds, sold for three dollars and a half. On the twenty-first of April the butcher was confined for insolence to colonel Fowkes: it appeared he had just bought a number of lambs at one dollar six reals each lamb, which he sold for four dollars six reals; and sheep, which he had for three dollars four reals, he sold never under three dollars a quarter. The masters of vessels who brought them, either from Spain or Portugal, were obliged to sell them only to him, and he to give his own price, and this at the time when the communication with Barbary was cut off.

A bark from Spain brought some sheep to the back of the hill, and had a permit for landing them at the Devil's tower; but because the master could not afford to sell the sheep at the monopolizer's price of three dollars four reals, he was obliged to re-embark them, though he had upwards of one hundred, and at last offered them at the price he declared they cost him; the butcher would not buy them, and the poor man carried them over to Ceuta.

September

September the eleventh, one thousand seven hundred and forty-two, mutton fit to eat at four dollars a quarter.

June the nineteenth, one thousand seven hundred and forty-four, only three sheep a day allowed to be killed for the garrison.

June the twentieth, one thousand seven hundred and forty-four, lieutenant W——s having Water port guard, twenty-five or twenty-six fishermen were turned out of that port, and orders sent not to let them in.

The officers of artillery petitioned their commanding officer to address the governour in their behalf: the letter to him was as follows:

“ Sir,

“ We, the officers of the company under your command, sensibly feeling the great inconveniencies, under which we have for a long time laboured, on account of the extraordinary scarcity of all manner of fresh provisions in the garrison; the prohibition of any coming into town from Barbary, (although there have been the strongest assurances and certificates from thence, of that country's being in perfect health) and the exorbitant price set on all that are sold here, that it is hardly in our power to come at even the smallest quantity of fresh meat, which formerly was of great benefit to us, as well as to the sick of the company: and as there have been cattle brought lately from Barbary for the use of the sick sailors, and were by the governour admitted into town, we are in great hopes, from the known wisdom of the governour, he will not refuse our humble request following:

“ We therefore, (though a small part of the garrison) humbly beg that you will entreat the governour, that he will be pleased to open a free communication with Barbary for all manner of provisions; and that no one be allowed to monopolize, or sell things at such exorbitant prices, as have been for this
“ long

“ long time past practised; by which means we are debarred the
 “ benefit of fresh provisions, not being able to purchase them at
 “ such intolerable rates, which even greatly exceed the price by
 “ public orders; and of which, without doubt, the governour
 “ has never been informed: and that the governour will be pleased
 “ to allow all persons the liberty to import from thence all man-
 “ ner of provisions, and that they may sell, and we may buy them,
 “ in a free and open manner, by which we may enjoy a share of
 “ the great plenty of that country, which formerly we had the
 “ happiness to experience.

“ We flatter ourselves with hopes that the governour will, with
 “ great pleasure, free us from these hardships; as we believe that
 “ he is very well assured of the health of that country by several
 “ occasions, and having suffered vessels to go and come from
 “ thence: and very lately some cattle for the sailors were admitted
 “ here on shore. These things, we hope, Sir, you will be pleased
 “ to lay before the governour in such a proper light, that from
 “ the humility and necessity of our request, he will easily grant.

“ Gibraltar, August 1744.

“ To captain Lytton Leslie, commanding the company of
 “ the royal regiment of artillery.”

As captain Preston's court martial, occasioned by his buying a
 turbot when on Water port guard for his dinner, made some
 noise in the world, I beg leave to give that gentleman's sentiments,
 expressed to the court martial, formed upon that occasion.

“ To the honourable court.

“ Captain Preston of Fowkes's.

“ Gentlemen,

“ My defence is a sort of reasoning which begins and ends with
 “ the same sentence, viz.

“ Necessity has no law.

“ Be.

“ Be pleased, gentlemen, to give me liberty to make a short narrative : I was released off Land port guard, and confined for peremptorily disobeying the governour’s orders ; and by the orders of yesterday, this court martial is appointed to sit, and try me for forcibly taking a fish from a fisherman at Land port, and peremptorily refusing the governour’s orders, when delivered me by the governour’s orderly serjeant, and afterwards by the town major, who came to me ; the first was serjeant Barry of our regiment, who came with an humble service to me from the governour, telling me that some of their fishermen had made a complaint against me, and that the governour desired to know what it was : I returned the compliment, and told the serjeant I had taken a turbot for my dinner, having nothing else but pease pottage. In a short time after, came serjeant Jones of the governour’s regiment, with the like ceremonious compliment, and told me, the governour desired me to send up the turbot, but not ordered me, as he says in his deposition. I returned the compliment, and told the serjeant, as I had done the former, that I would keep the turbot for my dinner, having nothing else but pease pottage. Not long after came the town major, who told me he was sent by the governour to ask me, if I refused to obey his orders, and whether I thought any private captain had a right to be served before the governour : to which I made no other reply, than that I had nothing but pease pottage for my dinner, and would keep the fish.

“ Now, gentlemen, I hope I may have leave to answer the two queries, that the governour may know my opinion : the first is, whether I refused to obey the governour’s orders : I protest I never did refuse to obey any lawful orders he has given, nor ever will ; but all his orders relating to fish at Land port, as well as to the other provisions brought to the town, that I have seen, are evasive and fallacious ; they may seem plausible at first sight, as if they were designed for the good of the public, but nothing

“ less than that; as they are purely calculated for being a sanction
 “ for carrying the best of the fish and other provisions to the
 “ convent, from thence to be disposed of as the governour thinks
 “ fit, and are not sold in the public market as they ought to be,
 “ according to his own orders, which he himself having broke
 “ through, are void of course.

“ The other is, whether I think any private captain has a right
 “ to be served before the governour: I do not say he has, but af-
 “ firm he has an equal right to be served at the same time with
 “ the governour in a public market; and the king our master’s
 “ servants go to market as well as the cobblers, and I dare say if
 “ any of them should presume to take the meat out of his mouth,
 “ he would not put up with it without complaining of injustice:
 “ mine is a parallel case; I had the turbot for my dinner, the
 “ governour wanted it, I refused to give it him, and am in con-
 “ finement for it: but when I see provisions carried to a public
 “ market, then, and not till then, will I give the governour the
 “ preference, for he does not, I perceive, make a just distinction
 “ between right and indulgence, which proceeds from our cour-
 “ tesy and complaisance.

“ I have answered these two queries, and if you please to ob-
 “ serve, I make necessity my plea; it therefore behoves me, in my
 “ own justification, to prove there is a necessity, and shew from
 “ whence that necessity proceeds.

“ The first is well known to you all, gentlemen, by the present
 “ scarcity and want of almost every thing; and the other, I say,
 “ is from the governour’s severity; for have not all his orders a
 “ selfish view, and tending to distress? has he not forbid bring-
 “ ing into town any provisions, but in such as he is interested, as
 “ we plainly see? has he not ordered all bundles and baskets to be
 “ searched at the gates for beef and mutton? is it not with the
 “ greatest reluctance he suffers any cattle to be landed for the use
 “ of the poor sick seamen in the hospital? has he not, in a most

“ shameful manner bereaved the whole garrison of the swine they
“ bred and fed, which have always been our main supply in win-
“ ter, forcibly taking them away by his myrmidons of the zoca
“ (i. e. butchery) for little more than half their value? has he not
“ inhumanly whipped a soldier of the regiment I belong to for
“ killing a sheep of his own, by sentence of an illegal court erected
“ by himself, called a garrison court martial, which deprives every
“ commanding officer of the power of appointing regimental
“ courts martial invested in him by the seventeenth article of war?
“ would he suffer so much as a sheep to be brought ashore for any
“ private family? and did he not turn away a Portuguese boat
“ with some sheep, a few days ago, because he would not sell
“ them to the butchery at their own price, when we had little or
“ no provisions in the garrison? does he suffer any creature, even
“ so much as a goose, to graze on the hill, which from the very
“ beginning has been in common, for the benefit of the garrison,
“ in order to distress us, and force us to buy his meat at the zoca,
“ or starve? has he not lately refused an offer made to him of
“ constantly supplying the garrison with cattle at a cheaper rate
“ than he has for some time past?

“ These, gentlemen, are all undeniable facts, and I appeal to
“ the conscience of every particular member of this court, if they
“ are not: I have mentioned only these few as a specimen of his
“ illustrious deeds, to shew that the governour is the principal
“ and only cause of our present necessities, scarcity, and wants:
“ and yet I could produce many others of the same stamp and
“ tendency, but shall not at present take up your time with any
“ more of them.

“ I am well aware, gentlemen, from what has been said, it
“ may be intimated on this occasion, as has been done on ano-
“ ther, that I am troubled with a spirit of mutiny; but such a
“ thought I utterly detest; yet I am too strongly possessed with a
“ spirit of liberty to bear any kind of oppression, and tamely suf-
“ fer

“fer myself to be enslaved and trampled on by a fellow subject:
 “he may be saddled, (as the term is) and hard ridden too, but
 “is that any reason we should be ridden to death and devoured,
 “as the Tartars do their horses?

“But now, gentlemen, it is time to conclude; it is true, I
 “took a turbot at Land port (not in contempt of, or contrary to
 “any lawful order) but in case of necessity, when I had nothing
 “for my dinner but pease pottage; and I solemnly declare I will
 “do the same again, as often as I shall be in the same unhappy
 “circumstances, when ‘Necessity has no law.’

“Gentlemen, what I have said in my defence I am fully per-
 “suaded will be duly considered, and of course have its due weight
 “with you; so I humbly submit myself to your impartial deter-
 “mination.”

The methods that were used to raise money, will, and shall be,
 a monument to posterity of the vices of those times.

Such fixed rules and orders must take time, before they can be
 altered; and that happy time came, when that good, wise, and
 honest governor general Herbert commanded: he bent the stub-
 born neck of oppression, by relieving, in a total abolition of all
 monopolies; and now the plebeian, as well as patrician, are upon
 an equal footing; that is to say, the poor as well as the rich
 get food for their money, which they could not do before the free
 market was settled, which happened upon the following occasion:

At the weekly club of the officers of his majesty's royal regi-
 ment of artillery, the subject of a free market was debated, occa-
 sioned by the hardships under which all degrees of gentlemen and
 others laboured, who were below the rank of field officers: and,
 with the approved consent of their worthy commanding officer,
 captain Alexander Leith, of happy memory, who nobly lived,
 and greatly fell, at the siege of the Havannah, to draw a proposal
 for moving the commandant of the fortress of Gibraltar, to cause

to be opened a free market. Lieutenant James Butler, of the above corps, in consequence of this permission, and joint approved consent of his brother officers, viz. captain lieutenant Thomas James, first lieutenant Abraham Tovey, second lieutenant Baylie Bryden, and lieutenant fireworkers Robert Hind and George Anderson, drew up a proposal for drawing a memorial, to be presented to his excellency general Herbert: which paper was formed and left on a table in the coffee-house room, for such officers in the garrison to sign as pleased.

Lieutenant M'Gachan, of the Scotch fuzileers, then having the main guard, close to the said coffee-house, reading the scheme for forming a memorial to be presented to the commandant, and not having it in his power to provide victuals for himself and family, but such salt provisions as the king daily allowed, was the first who signed the said paper, and was immediately followed by others to the number of seventy.

The memorial being drawn up, it was agreed that the senior captains of the five corps, i. e. lord Portmore's, lord Robert Manners's, colonel Layton's, lord George Beauclerk's, and a company of the royal regiment of artillery, should present the same. Captain William Denny, of lord Robert Manners's regiment of foot, being the senior captain of the five, delivered the memorial to his excellency in presence of the other four, who received it politely: the consequence, a free market was established, and remained till I left the garrison in May, one thousand seven hundred and fifty-five; for up to that æra I write.

“ To the honourable colonel Herbert, commander in chief of the
“ city and garrison of Gibraltar, &c.

“ The memorial of the majority of the officers of the garrison
“ under your command,

“ Humbly sheweth,

“ That the right claimed by the field officers of being always
“ first served at the butchery, and the several abuses committed
“ there,

“ there, particularly in this time of scarcity, greatly distress all
“ the officers of the garrison: they further beg leave to represent,
“ that, in regard to the game, the abuses are greater, which
“ grievances they conceive are contrary to the happy constitution
“ of their country.

“ Your memorialists therefore humbly pray you would be
“ pleased to order that no such privilege may be for the fu-
“ ture granted to the field officers, &c.”

The garrison was surrendered as allies to the house of Austria, and was the first town in Spain that declared for his catholic majesty, and the first ground that he landed on in that country: and afterwards at the treaty of Utrecht, was by Philip the fifth granted to the crown of Great Britain by the tenth article of the said treaty, as follows:

“ The catholic king does hereby for himself, his heirs, and
“ successors, yield to the crown of Great Britain, the full and
“ entire property of the town and castle of Gibraltar, together
“ with the port, fortification, and forts thereunto belonging, and
“ he gives up the said propriety to be held and enjoyed absolutely,
“ with all manner of right for ever, without any exception or
“ impediment whatsoever; but that abuses and frauds may be
“ avoided by importing any kind of goods, the catholic king
“ wills, and means it to be understood, that the above named
“ propriety be yielded to Great Britain, without any territorial
“ jurisdiction, and without any open communication by land with
“ the country round about: yet whereas the communication by
“ sea with the coast of Spain may not all times be safe or open,
“ and thereby it may happen, that the garrison and other inha-
“ bitants of Gibraltar may be brought to great straits; and as it
“ is the intention of the catholic king, only that fraudulent im-
“ portation of goods should, as is above said, be hindered by any
“ inland communication, it is therefore provided, that in such
“ cases

“cases it may be lawful to purchase for ready money in the neigh-
 “bouring territories of Spain, provisions, and other things ne-
 “cessary for the use of the garrison and inhabitants, and the ships
 “lying in the harbour; and her Britannic majesty, at the request
 “of the catholic king, does consent and agree, that no leave shall
 “be given, under any pretence whatsoever, either for Jews or
 “Moors to reside, or have their dwellings in the said town of
 “Gibraltar; and that no refuge or shelter shall be allowed to
 “any Moorish ships of war in the harbour of the said town,
 “whereby the communication between Spain and Ceuta may be
 “obstructed, or the coasts of Spain be infested by the excursions
 “of the Moors: her majesty, the queen of Great Britain, does
 “further promise, that the free exercise of their religion shall be
 “indulged to the Roman catholic inhabitants of the aforesaid
 “town; and in case it shall seem meet to the crown of Great Bri-
 “tain to alienate therefrom the propriety of the said town of
 “Gibraltar, that the preference of having the same shall always
 “be given to the crown of Spain.”

By this article the reader may perceive that the full propriety of
 the town and port is granted to the crown of Great Britain, but
 without territorial jurisdiction; the reason of which was to pre-
 vent smuggling. The Spaniards have therefore taken the above
 clause in the strictest sense imaginable; for to prevent that infam-
 ous practice, they have run a line from the Mediterranean to
 the bay, and at each end have erected strong forts under the
 fire of our own cannon. The above line will be of infinite ser-
 vice to the Spaniards, should they ever attempt to break ground
 against the place, as likewise the fort on the bay side; which does
 totally interrupt the freedom of the port, and commands it so
 well, that no ships can ride in the proper anchorage but such as
 they please to suffer: so will the fort on the Mediterranean side
 prevent our ships from enfilading their approaches. Our ships
 must be obliged to bring to abreast of the town, under the main
 body

body of the hill, where the ground is either foul or rocky, or obliged to anchor in deep water, and exposed to brisk Levanters, which break upon them with such violence, as start their anchors and drive them over to the opposite shore of Algezira: the reason of these sharp guts being peculiar to the center of the bay, is, as the hill runs almost north and south, so the flat back receives the east or Levant winds, which reverberate, flying round each end of Mons Calpe with great impetuosity, whilst the third column of the received air mounts over the rock, and which is by a fourth higher free wind forced down, and meeting with the two winds that whirl round the mountain at an equilateral point from the two ends of the rock, do there first form themselves into vortices, which are continued in numberless eddies, quite to the front, or west face of the mountain: so that vessels riding abreast of the town, have smart gusts of wind at all points of the compass in the space of half an hour; and if they go further to the back of the new mole, they are exposed to south-west winds, and a rolling sea: all these inconveniencies we lie under by permitting the Spaniards to build the western fort to their lines: a full description of which, with the plan, is in the following explanation to the Spanish forts and line, with their strength and defence, the number of guns, mortars, and the guards they mount, with their complement of officers of men at each guard. A. fort St. Philip, to the west of their line and distant from the old mole head, one thousand seven hundred and fifteen yards: the front of this fort are two strait lines joined by the sweep of a circle. The parapet is eighteen feet thick, faced with stone, and filled with earth and clay. The rampart is only parallel to the front, mounted with twenty iron sixteen pounders, and four iron six pounders in flanks, with four thirteen inch brass mortars: eighteen of these guns command the anchoring place and their strand, the other six open on the town, and neck of land: under the rampart are several casemates. The back of this fort, next the land, are two demi-bastions.

bastions and a curtain: parallel to it are storehouses and guard-rooms, or more properly barracks, having in each guard-house both stoves and a large fire place. Between the buildings and parapet is just room for a musketeer to fire over: there are loop holes for small arms under the ramparts, and through the scarp wall, which scours their covert way, which is pallisadoed, and has three stone banquets. The glacis in the front is defended from the sea, by a solid retaining wall of free stone: the ditch is wet, being filled from the sea, and the water kept in by a sluice gate, next the bay, and another in the counterscarp, and has a wooden bridge opposite the place of arms, where is a guard-house for a subaltern and twenty men: the guard in the fort consists of one captain, one subaltern, and fifty men: this fort has convenient lodgements (besides magazines and storehouses) for six hundred men.

St. Barbara, the first place of arms next St. Philip's, is even in the rear, and has all the rest of the guard-houses in the line, one large fire place with stoves on each side, to serve as barracks on occasion: in the center is a ladder, which communicates with a floor contrived in the roof, in case of augmenting the guards: all the guard-houses are built in the same manner, and consist of one subaltern and thirty men.

St. Benito, the second place of arms; the defence and guard-house as the former, and consists of one subaltern and thirty men.

St. Mariana, the commandant's guard-house, who is a field officer: the piece of a covert way behind it, shews as if some design was intended thereabouts: this guard consists of one captain, one subaltern, and fifty men.

St. Fernando; this guard-house is defended in the rear by a parapet and glacis pallisadoed, which is continued to the front, leaving no entrance but a barrier, and the guard consists of one subaltern and thirty men.

St.

St. Carlos is defended as the former, and consists of one subaltern and thirty men; between this guard-house and the Levant fort is a picket, consisting of forty horse, shaded off from the parapet of the covert way.

St. Barba, or the Levant fort to the east of the line next the Mediterranean, is not quite finished: the parapet is twelve feet thick; the right face and flank command part of the neck of land, and their line; the left face and flank command the Mediterranean sea and shore: there are covered casemates under each flank for two guns each: the rampart is thirty feet broad, and mounted with twelve iron sixteen pounders, and one thirteen inch brass mortar. The rear of this fort is considerably stronger than St. Philip's, for the rampart is continued round of the same breadth, and good shelter for men underneath, there being four large casemates bomb proof: the ditch is dry, and is sunk round the fort to the proper depth, except a piece left for a communication, till the bridge is built: the covert way is pallisadoed, and the glacis is finished. Towards the Mediterranean is a solid retaining wall against the surge; and the guard consists of one captain, one subaltern, and fifty men: this whole line from east to west is one thousand eight hundred and seventy yards. Between St. Philip's fort and St. Mariana, has been brought a vast quantity of stones, and laid in such a manner, as to carry on a large fort on that spot of ground, as may be seen in the plan. To the east of St. Philip's are a great many stone square pillars, which supported a large shed for spare carriages, and other utensils for their artillery: the line of fire from the batteries is seen in the general plan of eight hundred feet to an inch.

References to the plan of the Spanish lines.

A huts.

B ice house.

C piles of timber.

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D engineer's house.

E St. Mariana.

F futtlers house.

D d d

G chapel.

G chapel.

H St. Fernando.

I St. Carlos.

K horse picket.

L Levant battery.

M piles of boards.

N pallifadoes.

O St. Benito.

P well.

Q St. Barbara.

R St. Philip's.

S sluice.

T horse barracks.

U road to the quarry.

N. B. These lines were built in the year one thousand seven hundred and thirty, when the garrison was commanded by lieutenant general Sabine; as the enemy had only a line of huts, from behind the mill, on the bay side, which ran obliquely to St. Barba on the Mediterranean sea, and destroyed as soon as they accomplished their lines and forts, as they now remain, with a further design of a much larger fort as in the general plan, but laid aside by them for the present.

C H A P. X.

ARTICLES OF PEACE BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND ALGIERS;
DESCRIPTION OF THE OLD MOORISH CASTLE OF GIBRALTAR.

AS it was necessary, on account of having a free commerce up the Mediterranean, and likewise in the Atlantic ocean, to make a peace with the Algerines and the corsairs of Barbary: the following articles between the most serene and mighty prince, Charles the second, by the grace, &c. and the most illustrious lords, the basha, dey, and aga, governours of the famous city and kingdom of Algiers in Barbary, concluded by Arthur Herbert, Esq; admiral of his majesty's fleet in the Mediterranean, April ten, O. S. one thousand six hundred and eighty-two.

Article the fourth: "That the Algerine ships of war, or other
" vessels, meeting with any merchant ships, or other vessels of his
" said majesty's dominions, may send on board one single boat
" with

“ with two fitters only, besides the ordinary crew of rowers, and
 “ that no more shall enter any such merchant ship or vessels,
 “ without express leave from the commander thereof, but the two
 “ fitters only; and upon producing a pass under the hand and
 “ seal of the lord high admiral of England and Ireland, or of the
 “ lord high admiral of Scotland, for the said kingdoms respective-
 “ ly, or under the hands and seals of the commissioners for ex-
 “ ecuting the office of lord high admiral of any of the said king-
 “ doms, that the said boat shall proceed freely on her voyage;
 “ and that although for the space of fifteen months next ensuing
 “ after the conclusion of this peace, the said commander of the
 “ merchant ship or vessel produces no such pass, yet if the major
 “ part of the seamen of the said ship or vessel be subjects of the
 “ said king of Great Britain, the said boat shall immediately depart,
 “ and the said merchant ship or vessel shall freely proceed on her
 “ voyage; but that after the said fifteen months, all merchant
 “ ships or vessels of his said majesty’s subjects shall be obliged to
 “ produce such a pass as aforesaid.”

The last renewal was in the reign of his late majesty king
 George the first, when in one thousand seven hundred and sixteen
 admiral Baker had orders to visit Tripoly, Tunis, and Algiers:
 with the two first, as will appear in the ensuing pages, he con-
 firmed our former treaties in person, but to Algiers he deputed
 the Argyle and Chester, two of his majesty’s ships, to whose
 commanders, captain Coningsby Norbury, and captain Nicholas
 Eaton, in conjunction with Mr. Thomas Thomson, then acting
 as consul, in the absence of his brother Samuel Thomson, Esq;
 he gave a full power to ratify and confirm all other treaties, with
 these following new articles. After the preamble, needless to be
 repeated, the second article is as follows:

“ That as the island of Minorca, in the Mediterranean sea,
 “ and the city of Gibraltar in Spain, have been yielded and an-
 “ nexed to the crown of Great Britain, as well by the king of

" Spain, as also by the several powers of Europe engaged in the
 " late war, it is now hereby agreed, and fully concluded, that,
 " from this time forwards for ever, the said island of Minorca
 " and city of Gibraltar shall be esteemed in every respect, by the
 " government and people of Algiers, to be part of his Britannic
 " majesty's dominions, and the inhabitants thereof to be looked
 " upon as his majesty's natural subjects, in the same manner, as
 " if they had been born in any other part of the British territories:
 " and they, with their ships and vessels, wearing British colours,
 " and being furnished with proper passes, shall be permitted freely
 " to trade and traffick in any part of the dominions of Algiers,
 " and shall pass without any molestation whatsoever, and shall
 " have the same liberties and privileges that are stipulated in this,
 " and have been made in any other treaties in behalf of the Bri-
 " tish nation and subjects; and therefore none of the cruizers of
 " Algiers shall at any time cruize within sight of the said island
 " of Minorca and city of Gibraltar."

Articles of peace and commerce between his most sacred ma-
 jesty George, by the grace, &c. and the most excellent lords,
 Ali basha, Haffain Ben Ali, bey; Cara Mustafa, dey; the aga,
 and the divan of the most noble city of Tunis and the whole body
 of the militia of the said kingdom, renewed and concluded in the
 year one thousand seven hundred and sixteen, by John Baker,
 Esq; vice admiral, &c.

Article the tenth: " That as the island of Minorca in the Me-
 " diterranean sea, and city of Gibraltar in Spain, have been yielded
 " and annexed to the crown of Great Britain, as well by the king
 " of Spain, as also by all the several powers of Europe engaged
 " in the late war: now it is hereby agreed and fully concluded,
 " that from this time forward for ever, the said island of Minor-
 " ca and city of Gibraltar, shall be esteemed in every respect by
 " the government of Tunis, to be part of his Britannic majesty's
 " dominions, and the inhabitants thereof to be looked upon as
 " his

“ his majesty’s natural subjects, in the same manner as if they
 “ had been born in any part of Great Britain; and they with their
 “ ships and vessels wearing the British colours shall be permitted
 “ freely to trade and traffick in any part of the kingdom of Tu-
 “ nis, and shall pass without any molestation whatsoever, either
 “ on the seas or elsewhere, in the same manner, and with the
 “ same freedom and privileges, as have been stipulated in this and
 “ all former treaties, in behalf of the British nation and subjects.”

Articles of peace and commerce between his most sacred ma-
 jesty George, by the grace, &c. and the most excellent lords, Maho-
 met bey, Yusef dey, Shaaban rais, the divan, and the rest of the
 officers and people of the city and kingdom of Tripoly, renewed,
 concluded, and ratified this nineteenth of July one thousand seven
 hundred and sixteen, by John Baker, Esq; vice admiral, &c.

Article the twenty-third: “ That whereas the island of Minor-
 “ ca in the Mediterranean sea, and the city of Gibraltar in Spain,
 “ have been yielded up and annexed to the crown of Great Bri-
 “ tain, as well by the king of Spain, as also by all the several
 “ powers of Europe engaged in the late war: now it is hereby
 “ agreed and fully concluded, that from this time forwards for
 “ ever, the said island of Minorca and city of Gibraltar shall be
 “ esteemed in every respect, by the government of Tripoly, to be
 “ part of his Britannic majesty’s dominions, and the inhabitants
 “ thereof to be looked upon as his majesty’s natural subjects in
 “ the same manner as if they had been born in any part of Great
 “ Britain; and they with their ships and vessels wearing British
 “ colours shall be permitted freely to trade and traffick in any
 “ part of the kingdom of Tripoly, and shall pass without any
 “ molestation whatsoever, either on the seas or elsewhere, in the
 “ same manner, and with the same freedom and privileges as have
 “ been stipulated in this and all former treaties in behalf of the
 “ British nation and subjects.”

By

By the king's proclamation, given at St. James's the thirty-first of December one thousand seven hundred and twenty-nine: " And
" in order more effectually to hinder for the future any abuses
" that may be attempted by foreigners relating to the new passes
" to be issued out: we do hereby further declare our royal will
" and pleasure, that all such new passes to be hereafter issued for
" any ship or vessel whatsoever belonging to any of our subjects
" of the island of Minorca or Gibraltar, shall be made out in a
" peculiar form, different from the form of the new passes to be
" issued for ships and vessels, belonging to any other part of our
" dominions, and that such new passes shall be lodged with the
" respective governours, lieutenant governours, or commanders
" in chief, for the time being, of the said island of Minorca and
" Gibraltar, and issued out only by them according to the regu-
" lations made by our royal father in council.

" And the said respective governours, lieutenant governours,
" and commanders in chief, are hereby charged and required not
" to issue or deliver out any such passes to any persons whatsoever,
" other than such as are really our subjects inhabiting the said
" island of Minorca or Gibraltar respectively, and strictly to con-
" form themselves in all respects to the regulations and instructions
" made and given as aforesaid.

" Oath to be made by the owners of the property of the ship
" or vessel, and that three fourths of the company are our sub-
" jects according to an act made in the twelfth year of the reign
" of king Charles the second, intituled, An act for encouraging
" and increasing of shipping and navigation."

Notwithstanding these solemn articles of peace between our most
sacred sovereign, and the different states of Barbary, they have at
sundry times violated the said treaties: but whether they were en-
couraged thereto, by our permitting vessels to be manned with a
majority of foreigners, contrary to our agreement, or their fickle,
unsteady, treacherous dispositions: yet I am apt to think, that
we

we have been the first aggressors; and I shall always think so, till the garrison of Gibraltar is wrested from us, (which at present is not very likely to happen) because as long as we keep that garrison, the different states in Barbary dare not break through the articles of peace, unless we give them a provocation, as we can always keep a sufficient squadron to reprimand them severely, should they make any depredations on our trade: I say they have, to my knowledge, broke through the treaty, by cruizing and taking vessels within sight, and little more than two guns shot from the cannon of Gibraltar: and particularly in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-three, an Algerine, after some difficulty, took a Martinico ship, and chased a snow, who took shelter under the cannon of our garrison; the ship was carried to Algiers, and the captain of her, for his gallant behaviour, was by the dey's order bastinadoed to death, as several Moors were killed in the engagement: now this action was in the sight of the coast of Spain, the coast of Barbary, the garrison of Gibraltar, and that of Ceuta; which breach of treaty, I am afraid, they never would have presumed to have trespassed, if we had not previously given them umbrage; and if we did, it is astonishing; for who can read Mr. Morgan's preface, without shuddering, at the least trespass on our side? this gentleman informs us, that the Algerines took and destroyed, during one war, five hundred ships of Britain and Ireland; and abundance of them under the very noses of their convoy; which is a sufficient lesson to terrify us to a strict observation of treaties: but here lies the rub; the owner of the property of the ship or vessel may be an honest Roman catholic, who values not the swallowing of heretical oaths, as he can be absolved by stepping aside into the Spanish church on his way home: and it is not clear to me, whether they think absolution necessary, in actions with hereticks, as they are pleased, out of their brotherly love and Christian charity, to stile all protestants, who are by their diabolical doctrine doomed, in the world

to come, to eternal misery! however, this garrison of Gibraltar, (notwithstanding we have made innovations by manning of vessels, contrary to treaty, on our parts, and the Algerines on theirs, have cruized and taken vessels in sight, and almost within shot of our garrison) checks the insolence of those infidels, who would instantly declare war against the English, should that garrison ever be wrested from us; of which we may assure ourselves, by what Mr. Morgan tells us in his preface to his History of Algiers, &c. for, says this gentleman, it was no longer ago than one thousand seven hundred and sixteen, when it was put to the vote in the divan, or grand council at Algiers, upon which of their allies they should fall? their allies were then Great Britain, France, and the states-general: the two former powers had long maintained the same amicable correspondence; and the Netherlanders about three years before had purchased a peace with this regency: they had likewise concluded a peace with the crown of Sweden, on a very valuable consideration. The ravenous corsairs, quite out of patience at not seeing their port swarming with prizes as usual, grew very clamorous; and at length, no longer able to bear their continually returning from cruizing without success, ran open-mouthed to Bobba Ali, their dey, telling him, "That
" it was more than time for them to break up their ships, since
" they met with none but friends abroad: neither in the ocean
" nor narrow sea, exclaimed they, can we find scarce any, who
" are not either French, English, or Dutch. Nothing remains
" for us to do, but either to sell our ships for fuel, and return to
" our primitive camel-driving, or to break with one of these na-
" tions." A grand divan of great and small (as they word it) was instantly called, whereat, with much clamour and debate, pro and con, as customary, matters were concluded in terms, running directly thus: " Francese Giaur-ler hem yaramas, hem
" inaâtje," &c. " The French infidels are both warlike and vin-
" dictive; obstinate, and our neighbours: thrice they bom-
" barded

“ barded us severely, as these not yet repaired ruins testify : a fourth
 “ such visit ought carefully to be avoided. As for the Flemings,
 “ (so they call the Netherlanders) they are a good people enough,
 “ never deny us any thing, nor are they worse than their word,
 “ like the French ; but they certainly play foul tricks with us, in
 “ selling their passes to other infidels : for ever since we made
 “ peace with them, we rarely light on either Swede, Dane, Ham-
 “ burgher, &c. all have Dutch complexions, all Dutch passes ;
 “ all call each other Hans, Hans, and all say Yaw, Yaw.”
 Thus it was carried against Hans ; and distrusted Hans was
 seized wheresoever those hungry hounds could light on him ;
 though not, as I hinted, without abundance of tumultuous de-
 bate : for the truth is, many were more inclined to fall on the
 well laden, thick sowed English than any others ; alledging,
 among other reasons, that it was in no wise generous in them not
 to suffer the Hollanders, at least a little longer, to enjoy the fruits
 of a peace they had so lately bought, and for which they had so
 liberally paid. Indeed few, or none, were for meddling with
 the French, who, they said, had more privateers than traders,
 and whom in plain terms they rather fear than love : however,
 the majority were not for meddling with the English, who are,
 said they, a friendly people, keep their word, punctually remit
 the agreed on presents, &c. and supply us with many necessities
 we want : besides, notwithstanding the great distance of their
 country, it may not, perhaps, be so advisable to quarrel with
 them while they are masters of Port Mahon and Gibraltar.

ARTICLES OF PEACE AND COMMERCE.

“ Articles of peace and commerce between the most high and
 most renowned prince George, by the grace of God king of Great
 Britain, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. and the
 high and glorious, mighty and right noble prince Albumazer

Muley Ishmael, Ben Muley Xeriph, Ben Muley Ally, king and emperour of the kingdoms of Fez and Morocco, Taffilet, Suz, and all the Algarbe and its territories in Afric, &c. concluded, agreed, and adjusted by the honourable Charles Stewart, Esq; on the behalf of his Britannic majesty, and by his excellency basha Hamet Ben Ally Ben Abdallah, and his imperial majesty's treasurer, Mr. Moses Ben Hattar, a Jew, on the behalf of the said king of Fez and Morocco.

" I. It is agreed and concluded, that from this day forward there shall be, between his majesty of Great Britain and the king of Fez and Morocco, their heirs and successors, a general, sincere, and true peace, which shall be observed inviolably, and endure for ever, as well by land as by sea and fresh waters, and also between the lands, countries, kingdoms, dominions, and territories belonging unto, or under the obedience of, either of them, and that their subjects, people, or inhabitants respectively, of what condition, degree, or quality soever, from henceforth reciprocally shall shew one another all friendship; and that at the death of either of their majesties, the successor shall send an ambassadour to the other to signify to him his accession to the crown.

" II. It is further agreed, that any of the ships or other vessels belonging to the said king of Great Britain, or to any of his majesty's subjects, may safely come to the ports, or to any place of the said emperour's dominions, there freely to buy or sell; and the goods they sell not, they shall at any time freely carry on board, without paying any duties for the same, if they are not contraband goods; and in case any ship or vessel shall have more goods on board than is designed for the port (which the master shall be obliged to declare on his arrival) the master of the said ship shall not be compelled to land the said goods, but they shall freely depart from thence whensoever they please, without any stop or hindrance whatsoever; and it is hereby declared, that the ships
or

or vessels of their respective majesties, or their subjects, that shall arrive in any of the ports or harbours of the dominions of either of the kings aforesaid, compelled by enemies, disaster of the seas, or any accident, shall be exempted from paying anchorage, giving powder, money, or any thing else as port charge, or any other duties either upon their entrance or departure from the said ports, without any let or molestation.

“ III. It is agreed, that all ships and vessels whatsoever, belonging to the subjects of the said king of Great Britain, as also all ships and vessels whatsoever, belonging to the king of Fez and Morocco, or to his subjects, shall freely navigate and pass the seas, without any search, hindrance, or molestation from each other; and that all persons or passengers of what country or nation soever, as also all monies, goods, merchandizes, or moveables, to what people or nation soever belonging, to either party, shall be wholly free, and shall not be stopt, taken away, embezzled, or plundered, nor receive any harm or damage whatsoever from either party: and it is further agreed, that no commander or other person belonging to any ship or vessel of the king of Morocco, or his subjects, shall take out of any ship or vessel of the king of Great Britain's subjects, any person or persons whatsoever, to carry them any where to be examined, or upon any other pretence whatsoever, and shall offer no violence whatsoever to any person or persons, of what quality or nation soever, being on board any ship or vessel belonging to his majesty's subjects.

“ IV. It is agreed, for the better observing and executing the antecedent articles according to the true intent and meaning thereof, that the men of war or ships of corso belonging to the king of Fez and Morocco, or to any of his subjects, meeting with any ships or vessels whatsoever belonging to the king of Great Britain's subjects (not being in any of the seas appertaining to his said majesty of Great Britain's dominions) may send on board one single boat with two fitters, and no more, which fitters only shall

have the liberty to enter into such ships or vessels aforesaid, and that by producing a pass signed by the said king of Great Britain, or by the lord high admiral of England, Scotland, or Ireland, in the form hereafter expressed, the said boat shall immediately depart, and such ship or vessel shall freely proceed on her voyage; and when any of the ships of war or corso of the king of Great Britain, or his subjects, shall meet with any ship or vessel of the king of Fez and Morocco, or his subjects, if the commander of any such ships or vessels shall produce a pass signed by the governor of the place whereto they belong, with a certificate from the English consul, and in case of his decease, or absence, from the major part of the English merchants residing in the said place, in such cases the said ship or vessel shall proceed freely on her voyage without impediment or molestation.

“ V. It is agreed, that if any of the ships of war of the said king of Great Britain, shall come to any port or place of the dominions of the king of Fez and Morocco, with any prize, or prize goods, they may freely sell and dispose of them without any molestation, or new imposition whatsoever; and in case any squadron of his majesty of Great Britain's ships of war, or any single ship, or merchant ship or vessel, shall want provisions or refreshment, it is hereby further agreed, that they may freely buy the same in such quantities or qualities as they shall have occasion for, at the market prices, and ship off the same without paying any duties or acknowledgment whatsoever.

“ VI. It is agreed, that if any ship or vessel belonging to the king of Great Britain, or his subjects, should by stress of weather, or any other accident, be driven on shore, bulged, or wrecked in any part of the king of Fez and Morocco's dominions, such ships or vessels, persons or goods, shall, without embezzlement or diminution, be duly restored to the consul, or to any other person whom the right owner shall appoint, and the men shall be at full liberty, and be permitted to go when they please, without any let whatsoever.

“ VII.

“ VII. It is agreed, that in all whatsoever towns and places, maritime or others, belonging to the king of Fez and Morocco, wheresoever the said king of Great Britain shall think fit to appoint and establish a consul, that such consul or consuls shall be treated with the respect due to his or their characters; and he and all other his majesty of Great Britain's subjects respectively, shall enjoy the free liberty of the exercise of their religion, without any molestation or reproach, in word or deed, and that they shall have a decent place appointed for the burial of their dead, to which no violence shall be offered. That the said consul and factors shall have the choice of their own truckman and broker, and liberty to go and travel from place to place by sea or land. They shall likewise have liberty to go on board any ship or vessel whatsoever, to trade, or likewise in port or road, without any let, confinement, or limitation. Their effects and estates shall be secure to them without danger of confiscation, seizure, or embargo, on any pretence whatsoever; and the said consul or consuls, and all whatsoever subjects of his majesty of Great Britain, trading in the territories of the king of Fez and Morocco, shall have free liberty to depart the country at all times, and as often as they shall see cause, without any impediment or detention to them, their persons or estates. And it is further agreed, that if any of the king of Great Britain's subjects, residing or trafficking in any part of the dominions of the king of Fez and Morocco, shall happen to die, in such case the governour of the place where such person shall so decease, shall be obliged to see all his monies and effects forthwith delivered into the hands of his majesty of Great Britain's consul there; and in case there be no consul upon the place, then to some English merchant, who is to secure them for the use of the heirs of the deceased; and this is to be understood, in case the person deceased has not had a partner left, or factor surviving, or has not before his death recommended his said goods, debts, &c. to any Christian merchant of what nation
soever,

soever, in which case the governour is not to intermeddle, further than interposing his authority for the causing due compliance to be made of the said person deceased his will, and the recovery of what shall be owing him, or any otherwise in the hands of any person whatsoever. And it is hereby further declared, that none of the king of Great Britain's subjects shall, on any pretence whatsoever, be compelled or give any manner of satisfaction, for any other debts, than such as they themselves, each of them respectively, shall contract, or be obliged to by their own act. And that the subjects of the emperor of Fez and Morocco, whether Moors or Jews, residing in the dominions of the king of Great Britain, shall entirely enjoy the same privileges that are granted to the English residing in Barbary.

“ VIII. It is agreed, that no alcaide, governour, officer, or subject of the king of Fez and Morocco, shall take possession violently of any goods or merchandizes of any of the king of Great Britain's subjects, in the said king of Fez and Morocco's dominions, without first adjusting and agreeing upon the price, and paying down the money; or as it shall be agreed between them, without any compulsion whatsoever. And the said subjects of the king of Great Britain shall not be forced to buy any goods or merchandizes against their will. And it is further agreed, that the commander or master of any English ship or vessel, shall not be obliged or compelled to trade, or take on board any goods or merchandize whatsoever, he or they declaring to the consul residing in the place or otherwise, their unwillingness to undertake the same. And further, no ship shall be detained or embargoed on any pretence whatsoever; or any pilot or mariners taken out of any ship or vessel on any pretence whatsoever.

“ IX. It is agreed, that if any of the subjects of the king of Great Britain shall happen to strike, wound, or kill any Moor, in any place within the dominions of the king of Fez and Morocco, and the said offender shall be taken, he shall be punished in

in the same manner, and with no greater severity than the subjects of the said king of Fez and Morocco, being guilty of the same offence, ought to be by the laws of that country: but if the offender shall make his escape, then neither the consul, nor any other person of the nation, shall be accountable or liable to give any satisfaction thereupon; and the like to be practised, if any Moor shall happen to strike, wound, or kill any of his majesty of Great Britain's subjects. And further, if any difference shall happen between persons, both of the king of Great Britain's subjects, such difference shall be adjusted and accommodated by the consul of the English nation; but in all controversies between the English and persons of any other nation, such controversies shall be determined by the alcaide or governour in chief of the place. And that the same liberty shall be granted to the subjects of the emperor of Morocco, residing in the dominions of his Britannic majesty, which is given to the English consul in Barbary, to name a person or persons to decide the differences that may happen between the subjects of his imperial majesty, a Moor for the Moors, and a Jew for the Jews.

“ X. It is agreed, that not only during this peace and friendship, but likewise if any breach or war happen to be hereafter, between the said king of Great Britain, and between the said king of Fez and Morocco, the English consul, and all others the said king of Great Britain's subjects, inhabiting or trafficking in the dominions of the said king of Fez and Morocco, shall always, and at all times, both in peace and war, have full power and entire liberty to depart and go to their own, or any other country, upon what ship or vessel of what nation soever they shall think fit; to be allowed six months time to remove in case of war, and to carry with them all their effects, goods, families, children, though born in the country, and servants, without any interruption, seizure, or hindrance whatsoever.

“ XI. And to the end this treaty of peace may not be thought violated by the crimes and offences of particular men, it is hereby
further

further agreed, that if either of their majesties subjects shall do any thing contrary to what is agreed in the foregoing articles, it shall not be reckoned to be a breach of the public peace, nor shall any hostilities ensue thereupon; neither shall it in any case of any controversy, be reputed a denial of justice, but where satisfaction shall be refused for the space of six months after complaint made.

“ XII. It is agreed, that the subjects of the king of Fez and Morocco shall be suffered to transport out of the dominions of the king of Great Britain, any sort of goods whatsoever, to the dominions of the said king of Fez and Morocco; and that they shall be obliged to pay no more duties or any other imposition whatsoever, than what other nations do, according to the custom of the country.

“ XIII. And as it has pleased Almighty God, that by his majesty's arms, the island of Minorca and city of Gibraltar are now in his majesty's possession, and are become part of his Britannic majesty's dominions; it is therefore agreed, that every person sailing in ships or vessels, whether Spanish, English, or otherwise, fishing in boats or vessels, living or residing there, shall be esteemed as his natural born subjects, upon producing proper passes from the governours, or commanders in chief of those places.

“ XIV. It is agreed, that for the better preservation of this peace entirely and inviolably, between the said king of Fez and Morocco, and the said king of Great Britain, and their kingdoms, dominions, subjects, and vassals respectively, proclamation shall be immediately made thereof in all the sea ports and towns of both their majesties, and fixed upon the gates of each of the said towns. And likewise that notice be given thereof to the respective governours, ministers, officers, and captains by sea and land, to the end that due regard be had to this peace, and that none may offend through ignorance; and this shall be done after the ratifications are exchanged, as it is expressed in the following article.

“ Lastly,

“ Lastly, It is agreed, in case any ship or ships of war in en-
mity with the king of Great Britain, are in any of the ports of
the king of Fez and Morocco, at the same time that any of the
ships belonging to the king of Great Britain's subjects are there,
that such cruizers shall not be permitted to offer any violence to
the English ships, nor to sail after them in forty hours. And be
it further agreed, that the peace shall commence from the day of
the signing this treaty ; after which none of the subjects of his
majesty of Great Britain shall be bought, sold, or made slaves, in
any part of the dominions of the king of Fez and Morocco, on
any pretence whatsoever. And the ratification hereof shall be ex-
changed within the space of six months, or sooner if possible; and
if it so happen, that in the mean time any capture should be made
on either party to his damage or harm, reparation shall be made
thereof by the captor, according to the rate at which the ships or
goods, or both, shall appear to have been sold; and whatsoever
part thereof shall remain undisposed of, shall immediately be re-
stored in specie, and the men set at liberty. That the peace shall
be confirmed and ratified in Spanish; and shall be received and
be of equal force, as if it was in the language of either nation.”

A copy of the passes, which the English merchant ships carry,
word for word.

By the commissioners for executing the office of lord
high admiral of Great Britain and Ireland, &c. and
of all his majesty's plantations, &c.

Suffer the ship	of	master
burden about	tons, mounted with	guns,
and navigated with	men, his majesty's subjects,	
built, bound for	to pass with her company, pas-	
sengers, goods, and merchandizes, without any let, hindrance,		
seizure, or molestation. The said ship appearing unto us, by		
VOL. II.	F f f	good

good testimony, to belong to the subjects of his majesty, and to no foreigners. Given under our hands and seal at the office of admiralty, the day of in the year of our Lord

To all persons whom this may concern.

Signed and dated in the behalf of the emperour of Morocco, in the camp of Ceuta, the thirteenth day of January, one thousand seven hundred and twenty, O. S.

By command of the most excellent basha Hamet Ben Ally Ben Abdallah.

Signed, dated, and sealed by his Britannic majesty's plenipotentiary, on board of his said majesty's ship the Dover, in Tetuan bay, the seventeenth of January one thousand seven hundred and twenty, O. S.

CHARLES STEWART.

I shall now proceed with a description of the old Moorish castle at Gibraltar, which once was a stately palace, and a large, strong, and magnificent pile of fortification, before the use of artillery: and I may affirm, that when this castle was in its pristine grandeur, that it vied with any in Spain, either for Moorish strength, beauty, or situation: it was erected on the north end of the rock, and before the use of powder, was of great force: but by neglect, it has almost gone to decay.

The walls are principally of tapia: tapia is a cement moulded in frames, and plastered nicely over with a much finer cement: this manner of work was much used by the Moors, wherever they came; and the ingenious doctor Shaw tells us in his travels, that most of the walls of Tlemsan in Barbary have been moulded in

in frames, and consist of mortar made up of sand, lime, and small pebbles, which, by being well tempered and wrought together, hath attained a strength and solidity equal to stone: he adds, the several stages and removes of these frames are still observable: this is visible in the walls of the Moorish castle of Gibraltar, and very justly stiled by the engineer Armstrong in his ingenious history of Minorca, the most noble specimen of this kind in the world, having withstood the weather for so many ages, and was, in the last siege, almost proof against the enemy's shot, which made but little impression on it. This castle was begun in the seven hundred and eleventh year of Christ; but when finished, is hard to say: from seven hundred and eleven to this year of one thousand seven hundred and fifty-five is one thousand and forty-four years. The walls of Algezira, as I have observed in these sheets, were of tapia, but have attained the petrifactive power more than those of Gibraltar.

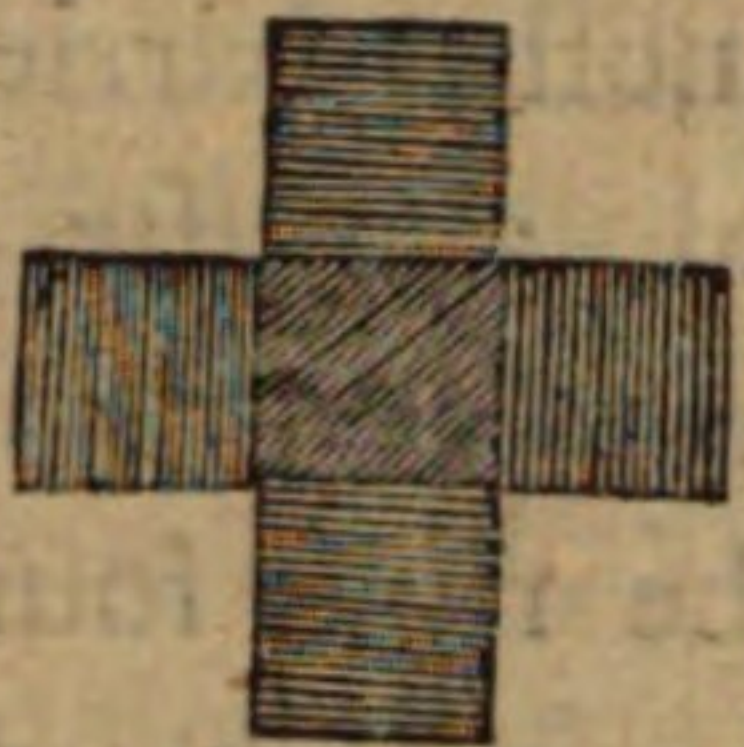
The north bastion was originally a large tower; and the ordnance shed on the esplanade, the place where they built their galleys, which were launched through a large arch, now closed on the north of Water port: the wall from the north bastion to the south bastion, is the remains of Moorish building, to which the Spaniards added works, and we fortified, as at this present time. When the Moors first raised this sea line wall, they placed earthen pipes in the same, to conduct the water from the grand parade (where the fountain now stands) to Water port, where was formerly a large basin to receive it: these pipes are still to be seen on that side of the wall facing the bay at Water port.

The grand battery and the prince of Hesse's to the north, and that remain from Montague's battery to the main street, and the old rampart behind the merchant's store-houses (which crowd the esplanade) to the prince of Hesse's battery, form what I call the lower castle; which, as observed, was full of houses, until the year one thousand seven hundred and twenty-seven. From the

main street up the slope of the hill, likewise over the prince of Hesse's battery, &c. as in the plan, is the second or middle castle, and above this is the upper one. Many reservoirs, baths, and arched galleries are in these castles, especially the upper one, where are foundations of great ruins, and some superstructures, that are explained in the plan. In the north east angle of this upper castle is what I call the upper tower, which you enter through an arched stone barrier, which at right angles turns to the right: a loop hole commands the entrance, at eight feet nine inches, and another the turn to the right: the covering is coved with a cupola: after you enter the barrier, you are inclosed within a wall that has a rampart of four feet broad, with thirty-one port holes, and twelve loop holes; and a semicircular tower in the center of this wall: under the rampart are nine arched casemates with large loop holes for arrows to pass: from the above outward entrance you come into a second barrier, that has an octagonal cupola very neat: there formerly were three passages from this small square; (for the ground plot under each cupola is square) that which fronts the entrance at eleven feet distance, was by the Moors stopped up: and that which leads to the left, is an arched brick gallery of eighteen feet in length, under which the king's (or governour's) guards and servants entered.

That to the left was a winding square stair-case, up which none went but the royal family, and their friends: over every landing place, which are square, are cupolas of various forms, all built of brick, and differing from each other, and at the same time very neat, and peculiar to the Moorish taste, yet strike the beholder's eye with pleasure: there are loop holes on each landing place, fronting the enemy, which give light to the stairs, and at the same time serves for a defence: on the third landing place there is an inner barrier that leads into a noble yet uncommon court-yard, as does likewise the gallery through which the soldiers, &c. passed: round this court-yard are twelve pillars of brick,

each of which are in this form,
pillar is five, which I suppose
the building a lighter look;
there are eight imposts, that,



supported brick arches, which bear a terrafs walk: the center of
this yard was open at top, which gave light to the whole, as no
openings were left in the wall that furrounded this court: in this
yard are two arched rooms, each of thirteen feet broad by twenty-
four feet long; these rooms were for the governour's guards to
sleep in.

so that in fact each
was done to give
besides these pillars
with the pillars,

Returning back to the king's stair-case, you ascend to the above
terrafs supported by brick arches that spring from the above pil-
lars and imposts: this terrafs is twenty-four feet high from the
base of the pillars.

On the top of the stair-case, which leads on the terrafs, was a
square tower with loop holes, as was likewise on the terrafs front-
ing the enemy, that is, the three lower castles: also the court-
yard, so that if any disturbances should arise among the guards,
they could be easily suppressed.

On the south end of the terrafs was a square tower, with loop
holes; and under the upper platform of this tower is an arched
room with loop holes, and another room under that: an arched
gallery, declining from the top of this terrafs, went by the door
of the upper room, where was a barrier that led on the rampart
of the upper castle wall, as does another gallery at the back of
the king's stair-case; so that off this terrafs you could once have
walked quite round this upper castle: from this terrafs between
two thin walls, you enter on another platform, twenty feet broad
by sixty feet long: this terrafs is over the guard rooms already
mentioned: on this platform are two small square holes, each
three feet by two, and made originally by the Moors, designing
either to call the officers, or to send and receive dispatches, be-
cause it looks down into the guard rooms: eight feet from the
easternmost

easternmost hole is another barrier or entrance (that leads to the upper tower,) arched, and after you have entered ten feet, another door place opens to the right; after you have entered, you then turn again to the right four feet, where you meet another strong arched barrier, which, when entered, you descend eight steps, (or twelve feet) then inclining eleven feet to the left, you arrive at a fally port, to the back of the tower, that fronts the hill; this fally port was closed by the English: from the above entrance to the fally port, the roofs are arched so as to answer to the galleries. On the left of the first barrier is an arched entrance, over which is a cupola; this is a small square of four feet, and on the right of the square is another arched door place; after passing through it, you ascend round a square newel, which is open to the top, that gives light to the whole square winding stair-case: over each of these landing places are cupolas, or coves of various forms, with long arches or galleries, from one landing place to the other: when you have ascended some height, there is a door on your left, another on your right, and one in front; that on your left leads to the king's apartments as follow: after you enter a small square of five feet and a half, by five and a half; still on your left you enter another door, directly before which, at ten feet distance, you enter another door to the king's hot bath: the dressing room is fifteen feet, by five and a half; this room was divided in the length ways, where are three doors, the first fronting the entering door of the long dressing room, all narrow and low, the better to keep in the heat: those rooms which held the furnace and hot water, being half the length of the dressing room, and the bagnio the other half, which has a small low door into the room where the furnace was lighted: the bagnio has a cupola, with holes through the top to let the steams through: returning out of the dressing room, and on your left, under an arch of seventeen feet and a half broad, you enter a room of ten feet each way: under this room, which is coved, is a square reservoir of the same dimensions, which was always kept full of water: on the left of this room

room is the entrance into the king's apartments, which is ten feet square, with a handsome cupola on the top; this room was the mosque, and fronting is an arch of the same dimensions as the former, through which is a room with a window that fronts the mosque, and on the fourth part of the square is a porch that leads into the king and queen's dressing room, which is twenty-four feet and a half, by nine feet, and is coved: at the end of the above room, and in the same line with the mosque, is the bed chamber coved, fronting the door, and at the end of the dressing room a window gives light to both the apartments, as does the former, the mosque, &c. there is no communication between the bed chamber and mosque, but through the square room and dressing room.

The door fronting the landing place of the stairs leads upon a battlement, which has turrets and loop holes: this rampart commands the terrafs walk, likewise the court-yard where the guards were kept, and the three castles under it, also the front of the south-east face of the scarp wall of the upper castle, and the Sally port already mentioned: this terrafs rampart slopes from the parapet to the upper tower, in order to collect the rains, which run through an earthen pipe of six inches diameter into the reservoir, under the square room that joins to the mosque and the dressing room already mentioned: the north-west part of this rampart flanks the north-east wall of the under castle: returning back to the stairs, you still ascend round the newel on four landing places, after which you arrive on the upper terrafs, and on the top of the tower: at five feet distance from the top of these stairs is an earthen pipe of the same dimensions as that below; this pipe collects the rains that fall on this upper flat, it is set into the wall, and runs perpendicular down to the rampart at five feet distance from that which leads to the reservoir.

This upper terrafs is thirty-nine feet high from the foundation on the south side, forty-nine on the east, twenty-seven on the north,

north, and forty on the west: on this terrass is a rampart parapet and loop holes. There are two Moorish inscriptions, one on the battlement near the mosque, and the other at the entrance of the upper castle, which inscriptions being very much defaced, and in old Arabic characters, few Moors could read them: and to say true, not any, until I took the following method: an Algerine Moor being confined in the upper castle, I waited on him to get a translation of those inscriptions, which he not only read but likewise wrote in Spanish: pleased with this success, I returned to Mr. Benedic (a very sensible Jew) acquainting him of my success in part, not taking any notice of my having them in writing: upon which the above gentleman introduced me to a learned young Moor belonging to Tangiers (a son of the late basha Hamet) who held the prisoner in great contempt in regard to his knowledge: he went with me and the Jew up to the castle, read and wrote the inscriptions before the imprisoned Moor was sent for, then I shewed the first copy, which agreed with young Hamet's in every point except the king's name: the prisoner insisted that Bene-has-fin was the king's name, and Hamet Ebn Al Hejaj, who, by dint of argument, prevailed. The inscriptions copied from the castle are as follow: beginning from your right hand. This inscription is upon the outside of the battlement of the upper tower:

This

כ

והיה ענין המעשה

הוא שיהיה

Moorish Inscription

الله اعلم
بما كنا
نعمل
والله اعلم
بما كنا
نعمل

*On this part
was the Year
when Aly, Al,
Hayaj reigned
but Time has quite
defaced it.*

This long inscription is over the gate at the entrance of the upper castle.

The under Arabic inscriptions were both written by Hamet on the spot:

The Upper Castle.

النفر والتميز والتميز
 بمولانا ابي عبد الله
 بمولانا ابي عبد الله
 امير المؤمنين بن يوسف
 امير المؤمنين بن يوسف

The Upper Tower.

لله العاقبة العاقبة
 لله العاقبة العاقبة
 العاقبة العاقبة

The above Arabic is pronounced by the Moors as follows:

"El Nefru Vel Temyedo Vel Fetch el Mubin ly mulana, Aby
 " Abdilahy, amir el Muselmin Mulana Aby Al Hajaj Ebn Yusef
 " Amir el Muselmin Ebn mulana Aby Al Walid. nasaru alah."

This is on the upper castle, and in English is: "Prosperity
 " and peace to our sovereign, and slave of God, king of the
 " Moors, our sovereign Aby Al Hajaj, son of Joseph king of the
 " Moors, son of our sovereign Aby Al Walid, whom God pre-
 " serve."

That on the upper tower, as follows: "Lilah el Afiyatu el
 " Afiya. Lilah el Boqui yatu el Boquiya. El Boquiya, Lilah
 " el Afiyatu el Afiya."

In English: "To the God that pacifies, and of peace, and to the God that lasts for ever."

"To the God that pacifies, and of peace, and to the God that lasts for ever."

This hill of Gibraltar, I believe, has felt the shocks of those earthquakes, which formerly were terrible both in Spain and Portugal, because there are many large slices of rocks scattered round this peninsula; and the parts, from whence they were severed, are easily to be discovered, as that large rock in the upper lines, which has fell in such a manner, as the outward part which joined to the hill (and broken off in a concave form) lies to the earth; and under it are rows of seats, circular, one over the other, in form of an amphitheatre; and on the uppermost (hewn into the rock) is a small magazine for powder. About ten years since a small shock was felt in the night; but nothing in comparison to what was felt on the first of last November one thousand seven hundred and fifty-five; but before we mention that, we will just take notice of those which happened in ages past; and first, those islands opposite to Tarifa, mentioned in the former part of this history, in all probability were sunk by an earthquake at the same time when the greatest part of the isle of Cales was lost, and the isle at the mouth of the river Bætis: likewise the town which is to be seen at this present time on the Spanish coast, and near to Tarifa; and perhaps the Pearl rock, (which at low tides has but twelve feet water over it) as in the plan, was once an island, and sunk with those above.

In the three hundred and ninety-eighth year after the building of Rome, the earthquakes were so violent, that many cities on the Mediterranean sea were ruined, and in the five hundred and seventh of Rome another part of the isle of Cadiz was broken off and sunk in the sea. In the five hundred and thirty-sixth of Rome, were earthquakes in Spain. In the year of our Lord one thousand one hundred and sixty-nine, there was an earthquake at Toledo; and in December one thousand two hundred and twenty-one was another.

another. A mighty earthquake happened at Lisbon in one thousand three hundred and forty-five. In one thousand five hundred and seventy was a great one. In one thousand five hundred and four a great earthquake in Andalusia. In one thousand six hundred and fourteen was another; and one in one thousand six hundred and thirty-eight. So says the Spanish historian Mariana. The Portugal historian says, that a dreadful one happened when Cæsar departed Spain the first time. And in one thousand five hundred and thirty-one a great one at Lisbon.

The reason of my mentioning the above earthquakes, is to shew the reader, that what has lately happened, is by no means singular to this part of the world (I mean Spain) no nor near so violent as that of Cales, which, before the shock, was many leagues in circumference.

If this isle of Cales was once so large, we may venture to say, that the shock must have been more violent than this of one thousand seven hundred and fifty-five; and, as already hinted, took with it those isles of Aphrodisia, &c. and what further confirms me in this opinion, is, the original name of Cadiz, in Latin Gades, which name was given to Cadiz, from a Carthaginian word, signifying a fence, (as does the Hebrew word Gheder) because it stands as a bank to bear off the swelling waves of the sea: now let me ask, what mighty bank is this isle now? and what waves can it keep off the coast of Spain, when diminished to twelve leagues and two miles in circumference? and when the wind blows hard at the westerly points, even the bay of Cadiz is not safe: and that earthquakes have been common over the whole globe, is too well attested to meet with a denial; therefore it would be needless in me, was I to insert them; only these two observations I will make;

First, That these strange commotions in the bowels of the earth (which is beyond the reach of mortals distinctly to know, or perhaps to understand at all) were of early days, for I meet with three in Josephus: the first happened near Mizpeh (that is

to say conspicuous) in the days of Samuel, where the Hebrews were delivered from the hands of the Philistines: the second, in the reign of Uzziah: and the third, in the days of Herod.

Secondly, That most earthquakes produced the same effects on the waters, as what this last has done, which seems to puzzle many people in England at present. This earthquake, perceived at Gibraltar, was in the forenoon on the first of November one thousand seven hundred and fifty-five, it began with a trembling which lasted half a minute, then a violent shock, and went off gradually as it began; the sea rose every fifteen minutes six feet eight inches, and fell so low that boats and all the small craft near the shore were left aground, as were numbers of small fish; and on the third, fourth, and fifth of the said month, small shocks were felt: but the most direful effects of this earthquake were at Lisbon, which city it has entirely demolished: however we must not conclude, because Lisbon is destroyed, that it was the greatest that ever was; no, for that already mentioned must have been infinitely greater, as many more, that not only shook towers down, but entirely swallowed them up (1).

I shall mention one, which happened in one thousand six hundred and thirty-nine, on the twenty-sixth of June, which wonderful one was in the island of Tercera, and particularly that of St. Michael the chief of them, which threw up, in the midst of the sea, an island a league and a half in length, and sixty fathom in height, there being a hundred and fifty fathoms water in that place: above a hundred cart loads of fish were cast upon the shore, so that the perpendicular height of this new isle must be twelve hundred and sixty feet. Also that mentioned in Mr. Smollett's History of England (2), wherein he acquaints us from Camden, that on the seventh day of February, at six o'clock in the evening, Marcley-hill, in the neighbourhood of Hereford, was moved from the place where it stood, and continued in mo-

(1) Vid. lib. vi. c. ii. p. 133. Lib. ix. c. ii. p. 250. Lib. xv. c. vii. p. 406. (2) Vol. iii. p. 48.

tion from Saturday till Monday, when it rested: it carried along the trees, hedges, and sheep, that grew and fed upon its surface, overturned Kynaſton chapel, which ſtood in its way, left an opening where it ſtood, forty feet in depth, and eight ells in length, and formed a large hill, twelve fathom high, in the place where it reſted. Likewise thoſe in Jamaica in one thouſand ſix hundred and eighty-ſeven and one thouſand ſix hundred and ninety-two. And at Newberry in New-England in September one thouſand ſeven hundred and twenty-eight, where the earth opened and threw up many cart loads of fine ſand, and aſhes mixed with ſulphur (3): and more I could mention were it neceſſary.

In blowing of rocks, the miners have found petrified hens eggs; and as I have been credibly informed, that in the heart of a large piece of rock (4), blown from the lower lines, was a toad of ſix inches in diameter, and in blowing a room for a caſemate in the upper lines, they found the ſkeleton of a man, in the ſolid rock; but the unexperienced miner blew it to pieces.

I took two pieces of bones, belonging to the arm, with the marrow petrified in them: this ſkeleton could have been chiſſeled out with care, and might be juſtly eſteemed a great curioſity: now, whether this body was an antediluvian, or whether it might not have been a Moor, is too difficult a taſk for me to decide: if a Moor, it is extremely odd that they ſhould have buried him where they never had any works; and on the ſlope of the hill, where the body was liable to be waſhed away in the winter's rain: however, if it was ſo, I think nothing of the petrification, becauſe this hill has a great inclination that way, as thoſe caves already mentioned, alſo the ſands on the back of the hill; and the ſhingle on the bay ſide, beyond the Spaniſh lines, of which petrified ſhells and ſand, part of my houſe was built; and if a

(3) Vid. Philoſ. Tranſ. for the Months of May and June 1729, No. 409, p. 125. (4) Vid. the plan of the Moorish caſtle marked on the rock No. 4.

Moor, it might have been interred a thousand years since; time sufficient to have petrified a thousand skeletons, where there is an inclination that way: for I find, that in the lake di pie di Luco, in that part where the water tumbles down the precipice into the river Nera, you may perceive that the upper edge of the bank has grown continually, insomuch that some have believed that this increase and growth of the stone has, in length of time, closed up the mouth of the valley, and turned it into a lake.

Below Basilicata, not far from the river Silari, on that side where the water flows from some high rocks towards the east, there are daily seen to grow large pieces of hanging stone of such a magnitude, that any of them would be a load for several carts.

In Pozzuolo (5) there is a dust that hardens into stone, if mixed with sea water. All the way upon the shore from Oropus to Aulis, every thing that is washed by the sea, is petrified, &c. However, we must not say the above human petrified body was that of a Moor, but attribute it to an antediluvian; because the site of the place, and the nature of the materials, being rock and marble in solid body with the hill, still remain in the same situation and form, as Pomponius Mela has described Calpe, and in which time itself has not been able to make the least alteration. Besides, there were two other petrified human bodies found in blowing the rocks near the old mole, as I was credibly informed by a curious gentleman who had resided many years in this garrison, before the general relief in one thousand seven hundred and forty-nine. That human bodies petrified have been often found, is no secret to the literary world, and one is to be seen in the Museum Kircherianum in Rome, where the whole body is turned to stone (6).

(5) Vid. Leon. Battista Alberti. lib. II. c. ix. p. 31.
Travels. Vid. Rome.

(6) Keysser's

T H E E N D.

This long inscription is over the gate at the entrance of the upper castle.

The under Arabic inscriptions were both written by Hamet on the spot:

The Upper Castle.

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ
 بِمَوْلَانَا أَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ
 بِمَوْلَانَا أَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ
 بِمَوْلَانَا أَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ

The Upper Tower.

لِلَّهِ الْعِزَّةُ وَلِلَّهِ الْمُلْكُ
 وَلِلَّهِ الْقُدْرَةُ وَلِلَّهِ الْفَوْزُ
 وَلِلَّهِ الْفَيْزُ

The above Arabic is pronounced by the Moors as follows:

"El Nefru Vel Temyedo Vel Fetch el Mubin ly mulana, Aby
 "Abdilahy, amir el Muselmin Mulana Aby Al Hajaj Ebn Yusef
 "Amir el Muselmin Ebn mulana Aby Al Walid. nafaru alah."

This is on the upper castle, and in English is: "Prosperity
 "and peace to our sovereign, and slave of God, king of the
 "Moors, our sovereign Aby Al Hajaj, son of Joseph king of the
 "Moors, son of our sovereign Aby Al Walid, whom God pre-
 "serve."

That on the upper tower, as follows: "Lilah el Afiyatu el
 "Afiya. Lilah el Boqui yatu el Boquiya. El Boquiatu, Lilah
 "el Afiyatu el Afiya."

In English: "To the God that pacifies, and of peace, and to the God that lasts for ever."

"To the God that pacifies, and of peace, and to the God that lasts for ever."

This hill of Gibraltar, I believe, has felt the shocks of those earthquakes, which formerly were terrible both in Spain and Portugal, because there are many large slices of rocks scattered round this peninsula; and the parts, from whence they were severed, are easily to be discovered, as that large rock in the upper lines, which has fell in such a manner, as the outward part which joined to the hill (and broken off in a concave form) lies to the earth; and under it are rows of seats, circular, one over the other, in form of an amphitheatre; and on the uppermost (hewn into the rock) is a small magazine for powder. About ten years since a small shock was felt in the night; but nothing in comparison to what was felt on the first of last November one thousand seven hundred and fifty-five; but before we mention that, we will just take notice of those which happened in ages past; and first, those islands opposite to Tarifa, mentioned in the former part of this history, in all probability were sunk by an earthquake at the same time when the greatest part of the isle of Cales was lost, and the isle at the mouth of the river Bætis: likewise the town which is to be seen at this present time on the Spanish coast, and near to Tarifa; and perhaps the Pearl rock, (which at low tides has but twelve feet water over it) as in the plan, was once an island, and sunk with those above.

In the three hundred and ninety-eighth year after the building of Rome, the earthquakes were so violent, that many cities on the Mediterranean sea were ruined, and in the five hundred and seventh of Rome another part of the isle of Cadiz was broken off and sunk in the sea. In the five hundred and thirty-sixth of Rome, were earthquakes in Spain. In the year of our Lord one thousand one hundred and sixty-nine, there was an earthquake at Toledo; and in December one thousand two hundred and twenty-one was another.

another. A mighty earthquake happened at Lisbon in one thousand three hundred and forty-five. In one thousand five hundred and seventy was a great one. In one thousand five hundred and four a great earthquake in Andalusia. In one thousand six hundred and fourteen was another; and one in one thousand six hundred and thirty-eight. So says the Spanish historian Mariana. The Portugal historian says, that a dreadful one happened when Cæsar departed Spain the first time. And in one thousand five hundred and thirty-one a great one at Lisbon.

The reason of my mentioning the above earthquakes, is to shew the reader, that what has lately happened, is by no means singular to this part of the world (I mean Spain) no nor near so violent as that of Cales, which, before the shock, was many leagues in circumference.

If this isle of Cales was once so large, we may venture to say, that the shock must have been more violent than this of one thousand seven hundred and fifty-five; and, as already hinted, took with it those isles of Aphrodisia, &c. and what further confirms me in this opinion, is, the original name of Cadiz, in Latin Gades, which name was given to Cadiz, from a Carthaginian word, signifying a fence, (as does the Hebrew word Gheder) because it stands as a bank to bear off the swelling waves of the sea: now let me ask, what mighty bank is this isle now? and what waves can it keep off the coast of Spain, when diminished to twelve leagues and two miles in circumference? and when the wind blows hard at the westerly points, even the bay of Cadiz is not safe: and that earthquakes have been common over the whole globe, is too well attested to meet with a denial; therefore it would be needless in me, was I to insert them; only these two observations I will make;

First, That these strange commotions in the bowels of the earth (which is beyond the reach of mortals distinctly to know, or perhaps to understand at all) were of early days, for I meet with three in Josephus: the first happened near Mizpeh (that is

to say conspicuous) in the days of Samuel, where the Hebrews were delivered from the hands of the Philistines: the second, in the reign of Uzziah: and the third, in the days of Herod.

Secondly, That most earthquakes produced the same effects on the waters, as what this last has done, which seems to puzzle many people in England at present. This earthquake, perceived at Gibraltar, was in the forenoon on the first of November one thousand seven hundred and fifty-five, it began with a trembling which lasted half a minute, then a violent shock, and went off gradually as it began; the sea rose every fifteen minutes six feet eight inches, and fell so low that boats and all the small craft near the shore were left aground, as were numbers of small fish; and on the third, fourth, and fifth of the said month, small shocks were felt: but the most direful effects of this earthquake were at Lisbon, which city it has entirely demolished: however we must not conclude, because Lisbon is destroyed, that it was the greatest that ever was; no, for that already mentioned must have been infinitely greater, as many more, that not only shook towers down, but entirely swallowed them up (1).

I shall mention one, which happened in one thousand six hundred and thirty-nine, on the twenty-sixth of June, which wonderful one was in the island of Tercera, and particularly that of St. Michael the chief of them, which threw up, in the midst of the sea, an island a league and a half in length, and sixty fathom in height, there being a hundred and fifty fathoms water in that place: above a hundred cart loads of fish were cast upon the shore, so that the perpendicular height of this new isle must be twelve hundred and sixty feet. Also that mentioned in Mr. Smollett's History of England (2), wherein he acquaints us from Camden, that on the seventh day of February, at six o'clock in the evening, Marcley-hill, in the neighbourhood of Hereford, was moved from the place where it stood, and continued in mo-

(1) Vid. lib. vi. c. ii. p. 133. Lib. ix. c. ii. p. 250. Lib. xv. c. vii. p. 406.

(2) Vol. III. p. 48.

tion from Saturday till Monday, when it rested: it carried along the trees, hedges, and sheep, that grew and fed upon its surface, overturned Kynaſton chapel, which ſtood in its way, left an opening where it ſtood, forty feet in depth, and eight ells in length, and formed a large hill, twelve fathom high, in the place where it reſted. Likewise thoſe in Jamaica in one thouſand ſix hundred and eighty-ſeven and one thouſand ſix hundred and ninety-two. And at Newberry in New-England in September one thouſand ſeven hundred and twenty-eight, where the earth opened and threw up many cart loads of fine ſand, and aſhes mixed with ſulphur (3): and more I could mention were it neceſſary.

In blowing of rocks, the miners have found petrified hens eggs; and as I have been credibly informed, that in the heart of a large piece of rock (4), blown from the lower lines, was a toad of ſix inches in diameter, and in blowing a room for a caſemate in the upper lines, they found the ſkeleton of a man, in the ſolid rock; but the unexperienced miner blew it to pieces.

I took two pieces of bones, belonging to the arm, with the marrow petrified in them: this ſkeleton could have been chiffeled out with care, and might be juſtly eſteemed a great curioſity: now, whether this body was an antediluvian, or whether it might not have been a Moor, is too difficult a taſk for me to decide: if a Moor, it is extremely odd that they ſhould have buried him where they never had any works; and on the ſlope of the hill, where the body was liable to be waſhed away in the winter's rain: however, if it was ſo, I think nothing of the petrification, becauſe this hill has a great inclination that way, as thoſe caves already mentioned, alſo the ſands on the back of the hill; and the ſhingle on the bay ſide, beyond the Spaniſh lines, of which petrified ſhells and ſand, part of my houſe was built; and if a

(3) Vid. Philoſ. Tranſ. for the Months of May and June 1729, No. 409, p. 125. (4) Vid. the plan of the Moorish caſtle marked on the rock No. 4.

Moor, it might have been interred a thousand years since; time sufficient to have petrified a thousand skeletons, where there is an inclination that way: for I find, that in the lake di pie di Luco, in that part where the water tumbles down the precipice into the river Nera, you may perceive that the upper edge of the bank has grown continually, insomuch that some have believed that this increase and growth of the stone has, in length of time, closed up the mouth of the valley, and turned it into a lake.

Below Basilicata, not far from the river Silari, on that side where the water flows from some high rocks towards the east, there are daily seen to grow large pieces of hanging stone of such a magnitude, that any of them would be a load for several carts.

In Pozzuolo (5) there is a dust that hardens into stone, if mixed with sea water. All the way upon the shore from Oropus to Aulis, every thing that is washed by the sea, is petrified, &c. However, we must not say the above human petrified body was that of a Moor, but attribute it to an antediluvian; because the site of the place, and the nature of the materials, being rock and marble in solid body with the hill, still remain in the same situation and form, as Pomponius Mela has described Calpe, and in which time itself has not been able to make the least alteration. Besides, there were two other petrified human bodies found in blowing the rocks near the old mole, as I was credibly informed by a curious gentleman who had resided many years in this garrison, before the general relief in one thousand seven hundred and forty-nine. That human bodies petrified have been often found, is no secret to the literary world, and one is to be seen in the Museum Kircherianum in Rome, where the whole body is turned to stone (6).

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Travels. Vid. Rome.

(6) Keysser's

north, and forty on the west: on this terrass is a rampart parapet and loop holes. There are two Moorish inscriptions, one on the battlement near the mosque, and the other at the entrance of the upper castle, which inscriptions being very much defaced, and in old Arabic characters, few Moors could read them: and to say true, not any, until I took the following method: an Algerine Moor being confined in the upper castle, I waited on him to get a translation of those inscriptions, which he not only read but likewise wrote in Spanish: pleased with this success, I returned to Mr. Benedic (a very sensible Jew) acquainting him of my success in part, not taking any notice of my having them in writing: upon which the above gentleman introduced me to a learned young Moor belonging to Tangiers (a son of the late basha Hamet) who held the prisoner in great contempt in regard to his knowledge: he went with me and the Jew up to the castle, read and wrote the inscriptions before the imprisoned Moor was sent for, then I shewed the first copy, which agreed with young Hamet's in every point except the king's name: the prisoner insisted that Bene-has-fin was the king's name, and Hamet Ebn Al Hejaj, who, by dint of argument, prevailed. The inscriptions copied from the castle are as follow: beginning from your right hand. This inscription is upon the outside of the battlement of the upper tower:

This

כ

אברהם אבינו
אברהם אבינו

Moorish Inscription



This long inscription is over the gate at the entrance of the upper castle.

The under Arabic inscriptions were both written by Hamet on the spot:

The Upper Castle.

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ
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 بِمَوْلَانَا أَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ

The Upper Tower.

لِلَّهِ الْعِزَّةُ الْمُنِيرَةُ
 لِلَّهِ الْعِزَّةُ الْمُنِيرَةُ
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tion from Saturday till Monday, when it rested: it carried along the trees, hedges, and sheep, that grew and fed upon its surface, overturned Kynaſton chapel, which ſtood in its way, left an opening where it ſtood, forty feet in depth, and eight ells in length, and formed a large hill, twelve fathom high, in the place where it reſted. Likewise thoſe in Jamaica in one thouſand fix hundred and eighty-ſeven and one thouſand fix hundred and ninety-two. And at Newberry in New-England in September one thouſand ſeven hundred and twenty-eight, where the earth opened and threw up many cart loads of fine ſand, and aſhes mixed with ſulphur (3): and more I could mention were it neceſſary.

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(3) Vid. Philoſ. Tranſ. for the Months of May and June 1729, No. 409, p. 125. (4) Vid. the plan of the Moorish caſtle marked on the rock No. 4.

Moor, it might have been interred a thousand years since; time sufficient to have petrified a thousand skeletons, where there is an inclination that way: for I find, that in the lake di pie di Luco, in that part where the water tumbles down the precipice into the river Nera, you may perceive that the upper edge of the bank has grown continually, insomuch that some have believed that this increase and growth of the stone has, in length of time, closed up the mouth of the valley, and turned it into a lake.

Below Basilicata, not far from the river Silari, on that side where the water flows from some high rocks towards the east, there are daily seen to grow large pieces of hanging stone of such a magnitude, that any of them would be a load for several carts.

In Pozzuolo (5) there is a dust that hardens into stone, if mixed with sea water. All the way upon the shore from Oropus to Aulis, every thing that is washed by the sea, is petrified, &c. However, we must not say the above human petrified body was that of a Moor, but attribute it to an antediluvian; because the site of the place, and the nature of the materials, being rock and marble in solid body with the hill, still remain in the same situation and form, as Pomponius Mela has described Calpe, and in which time itself has not been able to make the least alteration. Besides, there were two other petrified human bodies found in blowing the rocks near the old mole, as I was credibly informed by a curious gentleman who had resided many years in this garrison, before the general relief in one thousand seven hundred and forty-nine. That human bodies petrified have been often found, is no secret to the literary world, and one is to be seen in the Museum Kircherianum in Rome, where the whole body is turned to stone (6).

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Moor, it might have been interred a thousand years since; time sufficient to have petrified a thousand skeletons, where there is an inclination that way: for I find, that in the lake di pie di Luco, in that part where the water tumbles down the precipice into the river Nera, you may perceive that the upper edge of the bank has grown continually, insomuch that some have believed that this increase and growth of the stone has, in length of time, closed up the mouth of the valley, and turned it into a lake.

Below Basilicata, not far from the river Silari, on that side where the water flows from some high rocks towards the east, there are daily seen to grow large pieces of hanging stone of such a magnitude, that any of them would be a load for several carts.

In Pozzuolo (5) there is a dust that hardens into stone, if mixed with sea water. All the way upon the shore from Oropus to Aulis, every thing that is washed by the sea, is petrified, &c. However, we must not say the above human petrified body was that of a Moor, but attribute it to an antediluvian; because the site of the place, and the nature of the materials, being rock and marble in solid body with the hill, still remain in the same situation and form, as Pomponius Mela has described Calpe, and in which time itself has not been able to make the least alteration. Besides, there were two other petrified human bodies found in blowing the rocks near the old mole, as I was credibly informed by a curious gentleman who had resided many years in this garrison, before the general relief in one thousand seven hundred and forty-nine. That human bodies petrified have been often found, is no secret to the literary world, and one is to be seen in the Museum Kircherianum in Rome, where the whole body is turned to stone (6).

(5) Vid. Leon. Battista Alberti. lib. II. c. ix. p. 31.
Travels. Vid. Rome.

(6) Keyser's

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James, Thomas

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